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GREEK READER Vol. II

Adapted with English Notes  
from von Wilamowitz-Moellen-  
dorff's Griechisches Lesebuch

By E. C. MARCHANT

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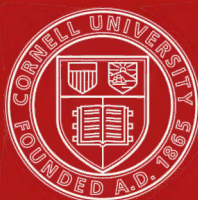


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# GREEK READER

## VOL. II

Selected and adapted with English Notes  
from Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellen-  
dorff's *Griechisches Lesebuch*

BY

E. C. MARCHANT

FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

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## PREFACE

THE text of this *Greek Reader* is selected by permission from the admirable *Griechisches Lesebuch*, which was prepared by Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, acting for a committee appointed in 1900 by the Prussian Minister of Education. The choice of the passages for the original work was guided solely by consideration of the interest and importance of their subject-matter; and it is my hope that the publication of these few pieces may save many from being set down at a too early stage in their learning of Greek to Euripides and Xenophon. By a lucky accident I escaped the *Hecuba* and *Alcestis* when I was beginning Greek; but a course of *parasangs* inspired in me a hatred of Xenophon so intense that it took me twenty years to forgive him. Whatever estimate be formed of Xenophon's merits as a writer, it is, I think, certain that he cannot stand the ordeal of being spelt out line by line and sentence by sentence. He is tolerable only when he is read quickly, as he wrote. As for Euripides, even if the words are intelligible to a young learner, what is he to make of the feeling? *What's Hecuba to him?* And whom should we pity the most—the heroine or the poet, or the beginner who wonders what on earth they are at and heartily hates them both? Of the pieces chosen for this volume, I need not say anything here, as the remarks prefixed to each passage sufficiently indicate its nature and contents. These delightfully written little introductions

to the separate pieces I have translated as faithfully as I could, merely substituting English for German allusions. I wish that I could convey into our language the charm of the original; but my halting English gives but a feeble echo of it. Among the many proofs that Professor Wilamowitz has given, and continually gives to the world of his consummate ability, not the least is to be found in the alchemy by which he has transmuted into gold even the German of classical scholarship. The notes in the original are mainly the work of Dr. Ewald Bruhn, who is well known as an excellent scholar and a judicious commentator for schools. He enters but sparingly into grammatical points; but in allusions to Greek life and manners his notes are rich. I have freely availed myself of them; and of all words that are not to be found in the small 'Liddell and Scott,' or are insufficiently dealt with therein, I have supplied a translation or a sufficient clue to the meaning.

As for the text, some purists may perhaps object to it on the ground that it is not throughout pure Attic. But it is very good Greek for all that; and in the case of anything strange, the notes supply a warning that will preserve our budding Atticists from harm.

We teachers are too much in the habit of supposing that the power of writing Greek prose mysteriously vanished from the world at the death of Theophrastus. I fear the reason is that most of us in our early explorations of Greek history and literature learned to regard the death of Alexander the Great as the Pillars of Heracles, beyond which none need adventure himself.

# CONTENTS

## TEXT

PART I:—	PAGE
I. STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF AESOP . . . . .	1
II. PERICLES . . . . .	7
III. ALEXANDER THE GREAT: THE MUTINY OF THE MACEDONIANS . . . . .	12
IV. YOUTH OF SCIPIO AEMILIANUS . . . . .	22
V. CUSTOMS OF THE CELTS . . . . .	34
PART II:—	
I. TYPES OF MEN . . . . .	47
II. THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS . . . . .	54
III. THEORY OF VACUUM . . . . .	60

## NOTES

PART I:—	
I. STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF AESOP . . . . .	66
II. PERICLES . . . . .	67
III. THE MUTINY OF THE MACEDONIANS . . . . .	71
IV. YOUTH OF SCIPIO AEMILIANUS . . . . .	75
V. CUSTOMS OF THE CELTS . . . . .	81
PART II:—	
I. TYPES OF MEN . . . . .	85
II. THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS . . . . .	92
III. THEORY OF VACUUM . . . . .	95



## I

THE Athenians of the Age of Pericles were already convinced that the beast fables in prose that they had read as children were written by the Phrygian *Ἀἰσώπης*, who had lived in Samos as a slave somewhere about the time of Solon and Croesus. They had wonderful things to tell of his life and death. The Delphians, so the story went, annoyed by fables of his in which they were treated with scant respect, had put among his baggage a vessel that belonged to Apollo, and when it was found there, they flung him from the rocks as a temple-robber. This 'Life' of Aesop, just like the 'Fables', became transformed in the course of centuries into a popular book, full of jests, of stories good and bad, serious and comic. In the case of both books we have now only the latest version, dating from the fourth or fifth century after Christ. Aesop is represented as a deformed Phrygian slave sold to Xanthus, a professor of philosophy at Samos. The shrewd mother wit of the despised servant proves itself superior to the learned folly of the master. In addition to some examples of this, we read here how the slave, after obtaining his liberty, came to honour at the Court of King Croesus, and brought peace to his new country Samos.

Εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ἔλθόντος τοῦ Ξάνθου καὶ τισιν ἐντυχόντος ἐκεῖ τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Αἰσωπον εἰπόντος εἰς τε τὴν οἰκίαν προδραμεῖν καὶ φακὴν εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἐμβάλοντα ἐψῆσαι, ἐκεῖνος ἀπελθὼν κόκκον ἓνα φακῆς εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἔψει βαλὼν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ξάνθος 5 ἄμα τοῖς φίλοις λουσάμενος ἐκάλει τούτους συναριστή-  
σοντας, προεῖπε μέντοι καὶ ὡς λιτῶς, ἐπὶ φακῇ γὰρ

ἔσται τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ μὴ δεῖν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων τοὺς φίλους κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζειν τὴν προθυμίαν. τῶν δὲ εἰξάντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικομένων, ὁ Ξάνθος φησί· ὁδὸς ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λουτροῦ πιεῖν, Αἴσωπε.  
 5 τοῦ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀπορροίας τοῦ λουτροῦ λαβόντος καὶ ἐπιδόντος, ὁ Ξάνθος τῆς δυσωδίας ἀναπλησθεὶς· φεῦ, τί τοῦτο, φησὶν, Αἴσωπε; καὶ ὅς· ἀπὸ λουτροῦ, ὡς ἐκέλευσας. τοῦ δὲ Ξάνθου διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν φίλων τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπισχόντος καὶ λεκάνην αὐτῷ παρατεθῆναι  
 10 κελεύσαντος, Αἴσωπος τὴν λεκάνην θείς ἴστατο. καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος· οὐ νίπτεις; κακείνος· ἐντέταλταί μοι ταῦτα μόνα ποιεῖν, ὅσα ἂν ἐπιτάξῃς. σὺ δὲ νῦν οὐκ εἴπας· βάλε ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν λεκάνην καὶ νίψον τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ θές τὰς ἐμβάδας καὶ ὅσα ἐφεξῆς. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα  
 15 τοῖς φίλοις ὁ Ξάνθος ἔφη· μὴ γὰρ δοῦλον ἐπριάμην; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως· ἀλλὰ διδάσκαλον. ἀνακλιθέντων τοίνυν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Ξάνθου τὸν Αἴσωπον ἐρωτήσαντος, εἰ ἤψηται ἡ φακῇ, δοίδυκι λαβὼν ἐκείνος τὸν τῆς φακῆς κόκκον ἀνέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ Ξάνθος λαβὼν καὶ οἰηθεὶς ἔνεκεν  
 20 τοῦ πείραν λαβεῖν τῆς ἐψήσεως τὴν φακὴν δέξασθαι, τοῖς δακτύλοις διατρίψας ἔφη· καλῶς ἤψηται· κόμισον. τοῦ δὲ μόνον τὸ ὕδωρ κενώσαντος εἰς τὰ τρυβλία καὶ παραθέντος, ὁ Ξάνθος· ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ φακῇ; φησί. καὶ ὅς· ἔλαβες αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος· ἕνα κόκκον  
 25 ἤψησας; καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· μάλιστα. φακὴν γὰρ ἐνικῶς εἴπας, ἀλλ' οὐ φακᾶς, ὃ δὴ πληθυντικῶς λέγεται. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξάνθος ἀπορήσας παντελῶς· ἄνδρες ἐταῖροι, φησὶν, οὗτος εἰς μανίαν με περιτρέψει. εἶτα στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν Αἴσωπον εἶπεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξω, κακὲ  
 30 δοῦλε, τοῖς φίλοις ἐνυβρίζειν, ἀπελθὼν ὦνησαι πόδας χοιρείους τέτταρας, καὶ διὰ ταχέων ἐψήσας παράθες. τοῦ δὲ σπουδῇ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐφομένων, ὁ Ξάνθος εὐλόγως θέλων τύψαι τὸν Αἴσωπον,

αὐτοῦ περί τι τῶν εἰς χρεῖαν ἀσχολουμένου, ἕνα τῶν ποδῶν ἐκ τῆς χύτρας λαθραίως ἀνελόμενος ἔκρυψε. μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν χύτραν ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὥς τοὺς τρεῖς μόνον πόδας ἑώρα, συν- ἦκεν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ τινα γεγонуῖαν. καὶ δὴ κατα- 5 δραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοῦ σιτευομένου χοίρου τὸν ἕνα τῶν ποδῶν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ περιελὼν καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ψιλώσας εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἔρριψε καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ξάνθος δὲ δείσας, μή πως Αἴσωπος τὸν ὑφαιρεθέντα τῶν ποδῶν οὐχ εὐρὼν ἀποδράσῃ, αὐθις εἰς τὴν χύτραν 10 αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλε. τοῦ δ' Αἰσώπου τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὸ τρυβλίον κενώσαντος καὶ πέντε τούτων ἀναφανέντων, ὁ Ξάνθος, 'τί τοῦτο, φησὶν, Αἴσωπε; πῶς πέντε;' καὶ ἐκεῖνος 'τὼ δύο χοῖρω πόσους ἔχετον πόδας;' καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος 'ὀκτώ.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'εἰσὶν οὖν ἐνταυθὶ 15 πέντε, καὶ ὁ σιτευόμενος χοῖρος νέμεται κάτω τρίπους.' καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος πάννυ βαρέως σχὼν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους φησὶν 'οὐχὶ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶπον, ὥς τάχιστα με πρὸς μανίαν οὗτος δὴ περιτρέψει;' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'δέσποτα, οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τὸ ἐκ προσθέσεώς τε καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως εἰς τὸ 20 κατὰ λόγον ποσὸν συγκεφαλαιούμενον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμάρτημα;' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξάνθος μηδεμίαν εὐπρόσωπον αἰτίαν εὐρηκὼς μαστιγῶσαι τὸν Αἴσωπον, ἡσύχασε.

Μετὰ δ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας φιλοσόφους καὶ ῥήτορας καλέσας ὁ Ξάνθος ἐκέλευσε τῷ Αἰσώπῳ πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶ- 25 νος στῆναι καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἰδιωτῶν εἰσελθεῖν συγχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς σοφοὺς μόνους. τῇ δὲ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀρίστου κλείσας Αἴσωπος τὸν πυλῶνα ἐντὸς ἐκαθέσθη. τῶν κεκλημένων δέ τινος ἐλθόντος καὶ τὴν θύραν κόπτοντος, Αἴσωπος ἔνδοθεν ἔφη 'τί σείει ὁ κύων;' ὁ δὲ νομίσας 30 κύων κληθῆναι ὀργισθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν. οὕτως οὖν ἕκαστος ἀφικνούμενος αὐθις ἀπῆει σὺν ὀργῇ, νομίζων ὑβρίζεσθαι, τοῦ Αἰσώπου ταῦτα πάντας ἔνδοθεν ἐρωτῶν-

τος. ἐνδὸς δ' αὐτῶν κόψαντος καὶ 'τί σείει ὁ κύων;' ἀκούσαντος καὶ 'τὴν τε κέρκον καὶ τὰ ὄτα' ἀποκριθέντος, Αἴσωπος αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς δοκιμάσας ἀποκεκρίσθαι ἀνοίξας πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἤγαγε καὶ φησὶν 'οὐδεὶς  
 5 τῶν φιλοσόφων συνεστιαθῆναί σοι ἦλθεν, ὦ δέσποτα, πλὴν οὗτος.' καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος σφόδρα ἠθύμῃσε, παραλελογίσθαι οἰηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κληθέντων. τῇ δ' ὑπεραίᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν διατριβήν, ἐνεκάλουν τῷ Ξάνθῳ φάσκοντες 'ὡς ἔοικας, ὦ καθηγητά, ἐπεθύμεις  
 10 μὲν αὐτὸς ἐξουδενῶσαι ἡμᾶς, αἰδούμενος δὲ τὸν σαπρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος ἔστῃσας Αἴσωπον, ὡς προπηλακίσαι καὶ κύνας ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλέσαι.' καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος 'ὄναρ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἢ ὕπαρ;' κἀκεῖνοι, 'εἰ μὴ ῥέγχομεν, ὕπαρ.' καὶ δὴ ὡς τάχος μετακληθεὶς Αἴσωπος καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς  
 15 σὺν ὀργῇ, τοῦ χάριν ἀτίμως τοὺς φίλους ἀπέστρεψε, ἔφη 'οὐχὶ σύ μοι, δέσποτα, ἐνετείλω μή τινα τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀμαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐᾶσαι πρὸς τὴν σὴν συνεισελθεῖν εὐωχίαν, ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς σοφοὺς μόνους;' καὶ ὁ Ξάνθος 'καὶ τίνες οὗτοι; οὐ τῶν σοφῶν;' καὶ ὁ  
 20 Αἴσωπος 'οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ· αὐτῶν γὰρ κοπτόντων τὴν θύραν, κάμου ἔνδοθεν ἐρωτῶντος 'τί ποτε σείει ὁ κύων;' οὐδ' ὅστισιν αὐτῶν συνῆκε τὸν λόγον. ἔγωγ' οὖν, ὡς ἀμαθῶν πάντων φανέντων, οὐδένα τούτων εἰσήγαγον, πλὴν τὸν σοφῶς τοῦτον ἀποκριθέντα μοι.' οὕτως οὖν  
 25 τοῦ Αἰσώπου ἀπολελογημένου, ὀρθῶς ἅπαντες λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο.

Next we read how the Samians inquired of Xanthus, as their wisest man, the meaning of an omen. In his need Aesop obtained leave to answer in place of him, appeared in the Assembly of the People, which was of course closed to slaves, and contrived to control the indignation aroused so skilfully that Xanthus was constrained to give him his freedom. Aesop then interpreted the omen as indicating a danger of subjugation by a foreign king; and in what follows this danger turns out to be actually pressing.



Μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον γράμματα παρὰ Κροΐσου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως ἦκει Σαμίοις κελεύοντα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε φόρους αὐτῷ παρέχειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοντο, πρὸς μάχην ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι. ἐβουλευσάντο μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες (ἔδεισαν γάρ) ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι τῷ Κροΐσῳ, συνοίσειν 5 μέντοι καὶ Αἰσωπον ἐρωτῆσαι. κακείνος ἐρωτηθεὶς εἶπε 'τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑμῶν γνώμην δεδωκότων εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ὑπακούειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, συμβουλὴν μὲν οὐ δώσω, λόγον δὲ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν, καὶ εἴσεσθε τὸ συμφέρον. ἡ τύχη δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδειξεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἑτέραν μὲν ἐλευθερίας, 10 ἣς ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ δύσβατος, τὸ δὲ τέλος ὁμαλόν· ἑτέραν δὲ δουλείας, ἣς ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εὐπετής τε καὶ βάσιμος, τὸ δὲ τέλος ἐπώδυνον.' ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σάμιοι ἀνεβόησαν 'ἡμεῖς ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες ἐκόντες οὐ γινόμεθα δοῦλοι,' καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν οὐ σὺν εἰρήνῃ ἀπέπεμψαν. 15 ὁ μὲν οὖν Κροῖσος ταῦτα μαθὼν ἐβούλετο πόλεμον κατὰ Σαμίων κινεῖν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβευτῆς ἀνήνεγκεν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν δυνηθεῖη Σαμίους ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαβεῖν, Αἰσώπου παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντος καὶ γνώμας ὑποτιθέντος. 'δύνη δὲ μᾶλλον,' εἶπεν, 'ὦ βασιλεῦ, πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας ἐξαιτῆσαι παρ' 20 αὐτῶν Αἰσωπον, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χάριτας ἄλλας τε δώσειν καὶ λύσιν τῶν ἐπιταττομένων φόρων. καὶ τότε τάχα οἷός τ' ἔσῃ περιγενέσθαι αὐτῶν.' καὶ ὁ μὲν Κροῖσος κατὰ ταῦτα πρεσβευτὴν ἀποστείλας ἔκδοτον ἤτει τὸν Αἰσωπον. Σάμιοι δὲ ἐκδόσθαι ἔγνωσαν. 25 Αἰσωπος δὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔστη καὶ φησὶν 'ἄνδρες Σάμιοι, καὶ γὰρ μὲν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν μῦθόν τινα εἰπεῖν. καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὁμόφωνα ἦν τὰ ζῶα, πόλεμον οἱ λύκοι τοῖς προβάτοις συνήψαν. τῶν δὲ 30 κυνῶν συμμαχούντων τοῖς θρέμμασι καὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσοβούντων, οἱ λύκοι πρεσβευτὴν ἀποστείλαντες ἔφασαν τοῖς προβάτοις, εἰ βούλονται βιοῦν ἐν εἰρήνῃ

καὶ μηδένα πόλεμον ὑποπτεύειν, τοὺς κύνας αὐτοῖς ἐκδοῦναι. τῶν δὲ προβάτων ὑπ' ἀνοίας πεισθέντων καὶ τοὺς κύνας ἐκδεδωκότων, οἱ λύκοι τοὺς τε κύνας διεσπάραξαν καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ῥᾶστα διέφθειραν.' οἱ  
 5 Σάμιοι τοίνυν τὸ τοῦ μύθου βούλημα συννοήσαντες, ὥρμησαν μὲν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς κατασχεῖν τὸν Αἴσωπον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ συναποπλεύσας πρὸς Κροῖσον ἀπήει.

Ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς Λυδίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ  
 10 προσθεν αὐτοῦ στάντα τὸν Αἴσωπον θεασάμενος ἡγανάκτησε λέγων· 'Ἴδε ποῖον ἀνθρώπιον ἐμποδῶν μοι γέγονε νῆσον ὑποτάξαι τοσαύτην.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος 'μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, οὐ βία οὐδ' ἀνάγκη πρὸς σὲ παρεγενόμην, ἀλλ' αὐθαίρετος πάρεμι. ἀνάσχου δέ μου  
 15 μικρὸν ἀκοῦσαι. ἀνὴρ τις ἀκρίδας συλλέγων καὶ ἀποκτινύς εἶλε καὶ τέττιγα. ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεινον ἡβούλετο κτείνειν, φησὶν ὁ τέττιξ "ἄνθρωπε, μὴ με μάτην ἀνέλῃς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτε στάχυν βλάπτω οὔτ' ἄλλο τί σε ἀδικῶ, τῇ κινήσει δὲ τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὑμένων ἡδὺ  
 20 φθέγγομαι, τέρπων τοὺς ὁδοιπόρους. φωνῆς οὖν παρ' ἐμοὶ πλέον οὐδὲν εὐρήσεις." κάκεῖνος ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀφῆκεν. κᾶγωγ' οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῶν σῶν ποδῶν ἅπτομαι, μὴ με εἰκὴ φονεύσης. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶός τ' εἰμὶ ἀδικῆσαί τινα, ἐν εὐτελείᾳ δὲ σώματος γενναῖον  
 25 φθέγγομαι λόγον.'

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας ἅμα καὶ οἰκτίρας αὐτὸν ἔφη· 'Αἴσωπε, οὐκ οὖν ἐγὼ σοι δίδωμι τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἡ μοῖρα. ὁ δὲ δὴ θέλεις, αἶτει καὶ λήψῃ.' καὶ ὅς 'δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ, διαλλάγηθι Σαμίοις.' τοῦ δὲ  
 30 βασιλέως εἰπόντος· 'διήλλαγμαι,' πεσὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν χάριτάς τε αὐτῷ ὡμολόγει καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς οἰκείους συγγραψάμενος μύθους, τοὺς καὶ μέχρι νῦν φερομένους, παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέλιπε. δεξάμενος

δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα πρὸς Σαμίους, ὡς ἔνεκεν Αἰ-  
σώπου τούτοις διήλλακται, καὶ δῶρα πολλά, πλεύσας  
ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Σάμον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σάμιοι τοῦτον  
ιδόντες στέμματα τε αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν καὶ χοροὺς  
ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνεστήσαντο. ὃ δ' αὐτοῖς τά τε τοῦ βα-  
σιλέως ἀνέγνω γράμματα καὶ ἀπέδειξεν ὡς τὴν εἰς  
αὐτὸν γενομένην παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερίαν ἐλευθερίᾳ  
πάλιν ἡμίψατο.

## II

## PERICLES

BUILDINGS AND FOUNDATIONS IN THE YEARS OF THE  
PEACE.

To walk to-day on the rock of the Athenian Acropolis is to walk in the Athens of Pericles. So overpowering was the might of the old spirit that it has forced the moderns to remove or conceal everything of later origin as a defilement. But that which already in the days of Pericles was of honourable antiquity does not jar on us; even the grace of the (later) Erechtheum stands like a toy beside the overwhelming grandeur of the Parthenon, while the noble lines of the hills on the horizon, the blue of the Attic sea, and the sparkle of the limitless air accord so completely with the greatness of this art, that its works seem not to have been made, but to have grown. Here alone does the greatness of Athens fully display itself; here it is still possible to trace directly what was the purpose and how great the power of the statesmanship of Pericles.

In the days of Trajan just the same experience fell to the lot of Plutarch of Chaeronea, when he based his belief in the greatness of his nation on these monuments. It was in this mood that he wrote the following chapter; and mainly through it, long before Athens once more became accessible and well known, was formed the belief that the

Periclean era, the few years between 450 and 430 B.C., had been the golden age of the highest art under the sun.

Plutarch dedicated his *βίοι παράλληλοι* to Sosius Senecio, a high official under Trajan. His object was to bring together the two nations of the world-empire, by teaching them to understand and respect each other. He wanted to show them that they were equal, by setting beside every great man of the one nation a similarly great man of the other, and comparing the two. Each pair together make up a book, and only as a whole can each book be critically judged. Plutarch is not a historian, but a philosopher, and the writing of biography among the Greeks sprang not from history, but from philosophy. Its purpose is not to record facts, but rather to describe how the individual (or even a species of living beings, a class or set of persons) solves the problem of living—manages *βίος*, in fact. In such a speculation the element of fact, on which it is dependent, is a means to an end; and the speculations of the moralist constantly force their way in between the facts.

Τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἀνεῖς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, αἰεὶ μὲν τινα θεὰν πανηγυρικὴν ἢ ἐστίασιν ἢ πομπῇν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ᾧ καὶ διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἡδοναῖς τὴν πόλιν, 5 ἐξήκοντα δὲ τριήρεις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπων, ἐν αἷς πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπλεον ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἔμμισθοι, μελετῶντες ἅμα καὶ μαθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἔστειλεν εἰς Ξερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντακοσίους, εἰς δ' Ἄνδρον 10 τοὺς ἡμίσεις τούτων, εἰς δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας, ἄλλους δ' εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἀνοικιζομένης Συβάρεως, ἣν Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυπράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ 15 τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμμάχοις.

Ὁ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ κόσμον  
 ἤνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔκπληξιν ἀνθρώποις,  
 μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεῖ μὴ ψεύδεσθαι τὴν  
 λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν  
 ὄλβον, ἢ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατασκευῇ, τοῦτο μάλιστα 5  
 τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ Περικλέους ἐβάσκαινον οἱ ἐχθροὶ  
 καὶ διέβαλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ὥς ὁ μὲν  
 δῆμος ἀδοξεῖ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 χρήματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δήλου μεταγαγών, ἢ δ' ἔνεστιν  
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν προ- 10  
 φάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκείθεν ἀνελέσθαι  
 καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ὀχυρῷ τὰ κοινὰ, ταύτην ἀνῆρηκε  
 Περικλῆς, καὶ δοκεῖ δεινὴν ὕβριν ἢ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεσθαι  
 καὶ τυραννείσθαι περιφανῶς, ὁρῶσα τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις  
 ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς τὴν πόλιν 15  
 καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας ὥσπερ ἀλαζόνα  
 γυναικα, περιαπτομένην λίθους πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα  
 καὶ ναοὺς χιλιοσταλάντους. ἐδίδασκεν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς  
 τὸν δῆμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοῖς συμμά-  
 χοις λόγον προπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους 20  
 ἀνείργοντες, οὐχ ἵππον, οὐ ναῦν, οὐχ ὀπλίτην ἀλλὰ  
 χρήματα μόνον τελούντων, ἃ τῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἔστιν  
 ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἃν παρέχωσιν ἀνθ' οὗ λαμβά-  
 νουσι· δεῖ δέ, τῆς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένης ἱκανῶς  
 τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς ταῦτα τὴν 25  
 εὐπορίαν τρέπειν αὐτῆς ἀφ' ὧν δόξα μὲν γενομένων  
 αἰδίδιος, εὐπορία δὲ γινομένων ἐτοίμη παρέσται, παντο-  
 दाπῆς ἐργασίας φανείσης καὶ ποικίλων χρειῶν, αἱ πᾶσαν  
 μὲν τέχνην ἐγείρουσαι, πᾶσαν δὲ χεῖρα κινεῖν, σκεδὸν ὅλην  
 ποιοῦσιν ἔμμισθον τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ αὐτῆς 30  
 ἅμα κοσμουμένην καὶ τρεφομένην. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ  
 ἡλικίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ῥώμην αἱ στρατεῖαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρείχον, τὸν δ' ἀσύντακτον καὶ

βάνανυσον ὄχλον οὗτ' ἄμοιρον εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὔτε λαμβάνειν ἀργὸν καὶ σχολάζοντα, μεγάλας κατασκευασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις ἔργων διατριβὴν ἔχόντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον,  
 5 ἵνα μηδὲν ἦττον τῶν πλεόντων καὶ φρουρούντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουροῦν ἔχη πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὠφελείσθαι καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὕλη μὲν ἦν λίθος χαλκὸς ἐλέφας χρυσοὺς ἔβενος κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κατεργαζόμεναι τέχναι,  
 10 τέκτονες πλάσται χαλκοτύποι λιθουργοὶ βαφεῖς χρυσοῦ, μαλακτῆρες ἐλέφαντος, ζωγράφοι ποικιλταὶ τορευταί, πομποὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κομιστῆρες ἔμποροι καὶ ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀμαξοπηγοὶ καὶ ζευγοτρόφοι καὶ ἡνίοχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι  
 15 καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλλεῖς, ἐκάστη δὲ τέχνη καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἴδιον στράτευμα τὸν θητικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἰδιώτην συντεταγμένον εἶχεν, ὄργανον καὶ σῶμα τῆς ὑπηρεσίας γινόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἡλικίαν καὶ φύσιν αἱ χρεῖαι διένεμον καὶ διέσπειρον τὴν  
 20 εὐπορίαν.

Ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερηφάνων μὲν μεγέθει μορφῇ δ' ἀμιμήτων καὶ χάριτι, τῶν δημιουργῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα θαυμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος. ὧν γὰρ ἕκαστον  
 25 ᾤοντο πολλαῖς διαδοχαῖς καὶ ἡλικίαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος ἀφίξεσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα μιᾶς ἀκμῇ πολιτείας ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν. καίτοι ποτέ φασιν Ἀγαθάρχου τοῦ ζωγράφου μέγα φρονούντος ἐπὶ τῷ ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως τὰ ζῶα ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ζεῦξιν εἰπεῖν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐν  
 30 πολλῷ χρόνῳ· ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἔργῳ μόνιμον οὐδὲ κάλλους ἀκρίβειαν· ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδανεισθεὶς χρόνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἰσχὺν

ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεουργόν· οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ καινότης αἰεὶ τις ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα 5 τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ αἰεθαλὲς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγήρω τῶν ἔργων ἐχόντων.

Πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόμβεδον 10 Παρθενῶνα Καλλικράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἴκτινος· τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους κίονας ἔθηκεν οὗτος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέξευξεν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπεταιῶν τὸ διάζωμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κίονας 15 ἐπέστησε· τὸ δ' ὀπαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε. τὸ δὲ μακρὸν τεῖχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγουμένου γνώμην Περικλέους, ἡργολάβησε Καλλικράτης. κωμῳδεῖ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατῖνος ὡς βραδέως περαινόμενον· 20

πάλαι γὰρ αὐτὸ

λόγοισι προάγει Περικλῆς, ἔργοισι δ' οὐδὲ κινεῖ.

τὸ δ' ὠδεῖον, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολυέδρον καὶ πολυστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινὲς καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ 25 μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους. διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν·

ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὶ

προσέρχεται τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου

ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.

30

φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο

μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἄγεσθαι καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἰρεθεῖς, καθότι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ᾄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. ἐθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν τῷ ᾧδεῖν τοὺς μουσικοὺς  
 5 ἀγῶνας. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐξειργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονούντος· τύχη δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβᾶσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμήνυσε τὴν θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν ἀλλὰ συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ  
 10 προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος, ἀθυμούντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανείσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἣν χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως ἰάσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 15 χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγιείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησαν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος, καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ συναναγέγραπται,  
 20 πάντα δ' ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάται τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους.

### III

## ALEXANDER THE GREAT: THE MUTINY OF THE MACEDONIANS

From ARRIAN'S *Anabasis*.

WHEN Alexander crossed to Asia, intending to get possession at least of the peninsula of Asia Minor, he had taken care to have Greek literary men on his staff, in order that they might promptly note down his achievements and influence public opinion at home. For the first campaign



this intention of his was realized. But when his purpose grew, and his army marched farther and ever farther into the remote East, the official register could not keep pace with him. Then he died too soon, and the conditions were so complicated that no general record of his history was produced. Nevertheless very many who took part in his expeditions wrote their memoirs, and there were not wanting accounts of separate episodes, such as the narrative of the journey from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, written by Nearchus. In the regular court journal—*αἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐφημερίδες*—in the tables of distances kept by the royal ‘measurers,’ called *βηματισταί*, valuable records existed, portions of which were published sooner or later; though the Macedonians themselves were as incapable of writing books as our good King William III. Thus a history of Alexander was soon formed, which was indeed endowed with all the graces that historians in that age could bestow, but contained a large element of romance and, especially from the military point of view, was unsatisfactory. A comparatively sober account was given by Aristobulus, who accompanied the expedition. Only a few fragments of his work now survive. It was reserved for the aged Ptolemy I of Egypt to publish a reliable military history based on the documents of the head quarters. In this history, which differed entirely from the account hitherto current and was indeed epoch-making, he made it his purpose to tell the truth and to render the honour due to the king, or better still, to the general. Only where consideration for the divine founder of Alexandria forced him to it, did Ptolemy make any concession to legend. We owe it to him that we possess information to a high degree authentic, though not exhaustive.

In the second degree we owe it to the high regard for truth shown by Flavius Arrian, of Nicomedia in Bithynia. In his youth he received the moral impulse from the training of the great stoic Epictetus, who made him susceptible to greatness and to truth. In imperial service under Hadrian (117–138 A.D.) he gained insight into military affairs and the realities of life. On the death of Hadrian he took leave of official life, retreated to Athens, and in authorship gave himself up to affected imitation of alien styles, so that he

is entirely without literary individuality. In the history of Alexander just that which cost him most pains and was his special pride, his imitation of the naïve manner of Herodotus and Xenophon<sup>1</sup>, leaves us altogether untouched. Nevertheless it is in consequence of his efforts that we possess so much of Ptolemy's history; and if the true, plain portrait of the great king stands beside the imaginary oriental prince and produces an incomparably deeper effect on us moderns, that assuredly teaches us first and foremost that true greatness endures no light so well as the light of truth: it teaches us further that all literary artifices pale before the moral power of truthfulness.

In the summer of 324 B.C., Alexander carried through the organization which was to prepare the way for the fusion of the two dominant nations, the Persians and the Macedonians. The first step was the marriage of as many Macedonians as possible with Persian wives, which he encouraged with the utmost activity, and celebrated in Susa with a prodigious wedding-feast. The second step was the enrolment of Persians in the Macedonian army corps. He well knew that by this measure he gave offence to the majority of the Macedonians; and so he sought to conciliate them by paying the debts of the whole army; and then he thought of sending home a large number of veterans. He made known this resolution on the march to Ecbatana, the Great King's summer residence, at Opis on the Tigris, where those who were to return home had to take leave of the army. Hereupon a mutiny broke out. The Macedonian army is at the same time representative of the free Macedonians, and so does not stand towards its military sovereign merely in the subordinate relation of the common soldier towards his commander. Accordingly the king called the men together, himself surrounded by his Macedonian staff, without the foreign parts of the regiments, and made them a speech from a platform (*βῆμα*).

Alexander's speech is in its form entirely the work of Arrian; but the thoughts, especially at the opening, are so singular and so different from the conventional conception

<sup>1</sup> Arrian became known at Athens as the New Xenophon.

that sets Alexander always in opposition to his father, that a reminiscence of the speech actually delivered must lie at the bottom of it.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὠπιν ἀφίκετο, ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας προεῖπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἢ πηρώσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀχρεῖους ἐς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀποπέμπει δὲ ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη· ἐπιδώ-  
 σαι δὲ ἀπιοῦσιν ὅσα αὐτοὺς τε ζηλωτοτέρους ποιήσῃ 5  
 τοῖς οἴκοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας ἐξορμήσει ἐς τὸ ἐθέλειν τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πόνων μετέχειν.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὡς χαριούμενος δῆθεν τοῖς Μακεδόσι ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ὑπερορώμενοί τε ἤδη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀχρεῖοι πάντα ἐς τὰ πολέμια νομιζό- 10  
 μενοι οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἠχθέσθησαν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου λεχθέντι, κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην πᾶσαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀχθεσθέντες, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη ἐλύπει αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἐσθῆς ἢ Περσικῇ ἐς τοῦτο φέρουσα καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ ἐς τὰ 15  
 Μακεδονικὰ ἦθη κόσμησις καὶ ἡ ἀνάμειξις τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἱππέων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων τάξεις. οὐκ οὖν σιγῇ ἔχοντες ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας γὰρ ἀπαλλάττειν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατεύεσθαι, τὸν Ἀμμωνα δὴ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπικερτομοῦντες. 20  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος (ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὥς πάλαι ἐπιεικῆς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας) καταπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ξυλλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ταραξάντων τὸ πλῆθος κελεύει, 25  
 αὐτὸς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὐστINAS χρῆ ξυλλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι ἐς τρεῖς καὶ δέκα. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπάγειν κελεύει τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον. ὡς δὲ κατεσιώπησαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκπλαγέντες, ἀναβὰς αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεγεν ὧδε.

‘Οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαῦσαι ὑμῶν, ὦ Μακεδόνες,  
 τὴν οἴκαδε ὁρμὴν, λεχθήσεταιί μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ἔξεστι  
 γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλεσθε ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα, ἀλλ’ ὥς  
 γνῶναι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ὁποίους τινὰς ἡμᾶς ὄντας ὁποιοί  
 5 τινες αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσεσθε. καὶ πρῶτά γε  
 ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρός, ἥπερ καὶ εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου  
 ἄρξομαι. Φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας  
 καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ  
 ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων κακῶς μαχομένους  
 10 Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις Θραξί,  
 χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε,  
 κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους  
 καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς μὴ  
 χωρίων ἔτι ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ οἰκείᾳ  
 15 ἀρετῇ σφύζεσθαι· πόλεων τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ  
 νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων  
 τῶν βαρβάρων, ὑφ’ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤγεσθε καὶ ἐφέρεσθε  
 αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἡγεμόνας κατέστησεν ἐκ δού-  
 λων καὶ ὑπηκόων, καὶ τῆς Θράκης τὰ πολλὰ τῇ Μακε-  
 20 δονίᾳ προσέθηκε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χωρίων τὰ  
 ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ  
 ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ τῶν μετὰλλων τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀνενδεῇ  
 παρέσχεν· Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἄρχοντας, οὓς πάλαι ἐτεθνή-  
 κετε τῷ δέει, ἀπέφηνε, καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος ταπεινώσας  
 25 τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάροδον πλατεῖαν καὶ εὐπορον  
 ἀντὶ στενῆς καὶ ἀπόρου ὑμῖν ἐποίησεν· Ἀθηναίους δὲ  
 καὶ Θηβαίους, ἐφεδρεύοντας αἰεὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐς  
 τοσόνδε ἐταπεινώσεν, ἥδη ταῦτά γε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ  
 30 ὑπακούειν Θηβαίων, παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνους  
 τὴν ἀσφάλειάν σφισι πορίζεσθαι. ἐς Πελοπόννησον δὲ  
 παρελθὼν τὰ ἐκεῖ αὖ ἐκόσμησεν· καὶ ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ  
 συμπάσης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν

Πέρσῃν στρατείας οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον τι τὴν δόξαν  
τῇνδε ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσέθηκε.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐς ὑμᾶς  
ὑπηργμένα, ὥς μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν σκέψασθαι μεγάλα,  
μικρὰ δὲ ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα ξυμβαλεῖν· ὃς 5  
παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρυσᾶ μὲν καὶ ἀργυρᾶ  
ἐκπώματα ὀλίγα, τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς  
θησαυροῖς, χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς  
πεντακόσια τάλαντα, δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς  
ἄλλα ὀκτακόσια, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς γε οὐδὲ 10  
ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βοσκοῦσης καλῶς, εὐθὺς μὲν τοῦ Ἑλλησ-  
πόντου ὑμῖν τὸν πόντον, θαλασσοκρατούντων ἐν τῷ τότε  
Περσῶν, ἀνεπέτασα· κρατήσας δὲ τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς σα-  
τράπας τοὺς Δαρείου τὴν τε Ἰωνίαν πᾶσαν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ 15  
ἀρχῇ προσέθηκα καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα πᾶσαν καὶ Φρύγας 15  
ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ Μίλητον εἶλον πολιορκίᾳ·  
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν ἐκόντα ὑμῖν  
καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης  
ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα ἀμαχεὶ ἐκτησάμην, ὑμῖν ἔρχεται· ἢ τε  
κοίλῃ Συρία καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν 20  
ὑμέτερον κτῆμά ἐῖσι· καὶ Βαβυλὼν καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ  
Σοῦσα ὑμέτερα· καὶ ὁ Μήδων πλοῦτος καὶ οἱ Περσῶν  
θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ ἔξω θάλασσα  
ὑμέτερα· ὑμεῖς σατράπαι, ὑμεῖς στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς  
ταξιάρχαι. ὥς ἔμοιγε αὐτῷ τί περίεστιν ἀπὸ τούτων 25  
τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη ἡ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦτο;  
κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδείξαι θησαυροὺς  
ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα τὰ ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἔνεκα  
ὑμῶν φυλάττεται. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ μοι ἐς ὃ τι  
φυλάξω αὐτοὺς, σιτουμένῳ τε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν σιτία καὶ 30  
ὑπνον τὸν αὐτὸν αἰρουμένῳ· καίτοι οὐδὲ σιτία ἐμοὶ  
δοκῶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς τρυφῶσιν ὑμῶν σιτεῖσθαι· προα-  
γρυπνῶν δὲ ὑμῶν οἶδα, ὥς καθεύδειν ἔχοιτε ὑμεῖς.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν πονούντων καὶ τάλαιπωρου-  
 μένων ἐκτησάμην αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐξη-  
 γούμενος. καὶ τίς ὑμῶν πονήσας οἶδεν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον  
 ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου; ἄγε δὴ καὶ ὅτῳ τραύματα ὑμῶν  
 5 ἔστι γυμνώσας αὐτὰ ἐπιδειξάτω, καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐμὰ  
 ἐπιδείξω ἐν μέρει· ὥς ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι τοῦ σώματος  
 τῶν γε δὴ ἔμπροσθεν μερῶν ἄτρωτον ὑπολέλειπται, οὐδὲ  
 ὄπλον τι ἔστιν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἀφιεμένων οὐ γε οὐκ  
 ἔχνη ἐν ἐμαυτῷ φέρω· ἀλλὰ καὶ ξίφει ἐκ χειρὸς τέτρωμαι  
 10 καὶ τετόξευμαι ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς βέβλημαι, καὶ  
 λίθοις πολλαχῇ καὶ ξύλοις παιόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ  
 τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλούτου νικῶντας  
 ὑμᾶς ἄγω διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων  
 ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πεδίων πάντων. γάμους τε  
 15 ὑμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγάμηκα καὶ πολλῶν ὑμῶν οἱ παῖδες  
 συγγενεῖς ἔσονται τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς. ἔτι τε ᾧ χρέα  
 ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, τοσαῦτα μὲν  
 μισθοφορούντων, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀρπαζόντων, ὁπότε ἐκ  
 πολιορκίας ἀρπαγὴ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλυσθαι πάντα. στέ-  
 20 φανοί τε χρυσοὶ τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν εἰσι, μνημεῖα τῆς  
 τε ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς ἀθάνατα.  
 ὅστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεῆς μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτὴ  
 ἐγένετο, περιφανὴς δὲ ὁ τάφος, χαλκαὶ δὲ εἰκόνες τῶν  
 πλείστων οἴκοι ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἔντιμοί εἰσι,  
 25 λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι·  
 οὐ γὰρ τίς γε φεύγων ὑμῶν ἐτελεύτα ἐμοῦ ἄγοντος.

Καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀπολέμους ὑμῶν ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς οἴκοι  
 ἀποπέμψειν ἔμελλον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπιέναι βού-  
 λεσθε, ἅπιτε ἅπαντες, καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἴκοι ἀπαγγείλατε  
 30 ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, νικῶντα μὲν Πέρσας  
 καὶ Μήδους καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σάκας, καταστρεφόμενον  
 δὲ Οὐξίους τε καὶ Ἀραχωτοὺς καὶ Δράγγας, κεκτημένον  
 δὲ καὶ Παρθυαίους καὶ Χωρασμίους καὶ Ὑρκανίους

ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν, ὑπερβάντα δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, καὶ περάσαντα Ὡξόν τε ποταμὸν καὶ Τάναϊν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Διονύσῳ περαθέντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, καὶ τὸν 5 Ὑφασιν διαπεράσαντα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνήσατε, καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν κατ' ἀμφοτέρα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἐμβαλόντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσίας τῆς ἐρήμου ἐλθόντα, ἥ οὐδεὶς πω πρόσθεν ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἦλθε, καὶ Καρμανίαν ἐν παρόδῳ προσκτησάμενον καὶ 10 τὴν Ὠρειτῶν γῆν, περιπεπλευκότος δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἰς Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ὥς εἰς Σοῦσα ἐπανηγάγετε, ἀπολιπόντες οἷχεσθε, παραδόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς νενικημένοις βαρβάροις. ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ πρὸς 15 θεῶν ὅσα δῆπου ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα. ἅπιτε.'

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησέ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀξέως καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθὼν οὔτε ἐθεράπευσε τὸ σῶμα οὔτε τῷ ὥφθη τῶν ἐταίρων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὥφθη. τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἴσω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς 20 ἐπιλέκτους τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε καὶ ὅσους συγγενεῖς ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ νόμιμον ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μόνοις. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἔν τε τῷ παραυτίκα ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων ἐκπεπληγμένοι σιγῇ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βήματι οὐδέ τις ἠκολούθησε τῷ 25 βασιλεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ ὅτι μὴ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταῖροί τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μένοντες ὅ τι πράττωσιν ἢ λέγωσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἤθελον. ὥς δὲ τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων αὐτοῖς ἐξηγγέλλετο, αἶ τε ἡγεμονίαι Πέρσαις διδόμεναι καὶ 30 ἡ στρατιὰ ἡ βαρβαρική ἐς λόχους τε καταλεγομένη καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα ἄγῃμά τι Περσικὸν καλούμενον, καὶ πεζέταιροι Πέρσαι καὶ ἀργυρασπίδων

τάξις Περσικὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππος, καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἄγλημα βασιλικόν, οὐκέτι καρτεροὶ σφῶν ἦσαν· ἀλλὰ ξυνδραμόντες ὡς πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ μὲν ὄπλα αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐρρίπτουν, ἱκετηρίας ταύτας τῷ  
 5 βασιλεῖ· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐβόων πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστηκότες δεόμενοι παρελθεῖν εἴσω· τοὺς τε αἰτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε ταραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῆς βοῆς ἐκδιδόναι ἐθέλειν· οὐκ οὖν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῶν θυρῶν οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτός, εἰ μὴ τινα οἶκτον σφῶν ἔξει  
 10 Ἀλέξανδρος.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ, δὲ σπουδῇ ἐξέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τε ταπεινῶς διακειμένους καὶ ἀκούσας σὺν οἰμωγῇ τῶν πολλῶν βοώντων καὶ αὐτῷ προχεῖται δάκρυα. καὶ δὲ μὲν ἀνήγετο ὥς τι ἐρῶν· οἱ δὲ ἔμενον  
 15 λιπαροῦντες. καὶ τις αὐτῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν τε καὶ ἱππαρχίαν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς οὐκ ἀφανής, Καλλίνης ὄνομα, τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ λυποῦντά ἐστι Μακεδόνας ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μὲν τινὰς ἤδη πεποίησαι σαυτῷ συγγενεῖς καὶ καλοῦνται Πέρσαι  
 20 συγγενεῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φιλοῦσί σε· Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐπω τις γέγευται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς· ἔνθα δὲ ὑπολαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς γε, ἔφη, ξύμπαντας ἐμαυτῷ τίθεμαι συγγενεῖς καὶ τό γε ἀπὸ τούτου οὕτω καλέσω· ταῦτα εἰπόντα προσελθὼν ὁ Καλλίνης τε  
 25 ἐφίλησεν καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος φιλῆσαι ἠθέλησε. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα βοῶντές τε καὶ παιανίζοντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις θυσίαν τε θύει τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ θοίνην δημοτελῇ ἐποίησε, καθήμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ πάντων  
 30 καθημένων, ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Περσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πρεσβευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν



ἀρνούμενοι ἔσπενδον τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδάς, καταρχομένων τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μάντεων καὶ τῶν Μάγων. εὐχέτο δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μακεδόσι καὶ Πέρσαις. εἶναι δὲ κατέχει λόγος τοὺς μετασχόντας τῆς θοίνης ἐς ἑννακισχιλίους, καὶ 5 τούτους πάντας μίαν τε σπονδὴν σπείσαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ παιανίσαι.

Ἐνθα δὴ ἐθελονταὶ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἀπήεσαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι διὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν· καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις 10 δὲ τὴν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος· ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφορὰν· παῖδες δὲ εἴ τφ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν, παρὰ οἷ καταλιπεῖν 15 ἐκέλευσε μηδὲ στάσιν κατάγειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλοφύλους τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων γυναικῶν παῖδας τοῖς οἴκοι ὑπολελειμμένοις παισὶ τε καὶ μητράσιν αὐτῶν· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥς ἐκτρέφοντο Μακεδονικῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια κοσμούμενοι· γενομένους 20 δὲ ἄνδρας ἄξειν αὐτοὺς ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ παραδώσειν τοῖς πατράσι. ταῦτά τε ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας τε καὶ πόθου ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον τεκμήριον ἐκείνο ποιεῖσθαι ἡξίου, ὅτι τὸν πιστότατόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντινα 25 ἴσον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἄγει, Κράτερον ξυμπέμπει αὐτοῖς φύλακά τε καὶ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στόλου. οὕτω δὴ ἀσπασάμενος ξύμπαντας αὐτὸς τε δακρύων καὶ δακρύνοντας ἐκείνους ἀπὸ οὗ ἀπήλλαξε.

## IV

## YOUTH OF SCIPIO AEMILIANUS

From POLYBIUS.

POLYBIUS, son of Lycortas of Megalopolis, grew up as the son of the most influential man in the Arcadian town, which, despite its high-sounding name, was only a Peloponnesian country-town, but nevertheless had a part to play in the Achaean League. Within this League he might think himself called to occupy a leading position; and accordingly, in addition to the education that all Greeks of good family then received, he had been instructed in the theory and practice of war, and had held a commission in the armies of the League, when the arbitrary action of the Roman Senate banished him, in 168 B.C., to Italy as one of the thousand Achaeans, whom it was thought advisable to demand from the Confederacy as political suspects and to intern in Italian towns. Polybius might have gone to ruin like the majority in these miserable little boroughs, since release was not granted till 151 B.C. But a lucky fate brought him into connexion with L. Aemilius Paullus; and he, the victor of Pydna, gained permission for him to remain at Rome, where, through his conversation and teaching, he would be useful to the sons of Paullus. This noblest man of his age had known how to unite the civic and manly virtue of the Roman with an appreciation of all that Greek culture could bestow on him; and he wished that his sons might be in the best sense Hellenes. In the case of his younger son, whom he allowed to pass by adoption into the family of the Scipios, he realized his wish, mainly by introducing Polybius to him. When Scipio appears to us as the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia and as the most innocent victim of the Gracchan Revolution, we too easily forget that he, who travelled over the whole Greek East, seemed to his contemporaries the king-like citizen of Rome, who made the might and right of Rome clear to the best men by the very fact that he possessed that sensibility of mind and heart, which only

the full participation in Hellenic culture could bestow. He stands as the type and forerunner of that reconciliation of the Hellenic and the Roman spirit, which in later days Cicero and Horace and the Emperor Augustus perfected in themselves and their work. Cicero knew that well enough, and so he made Scipio the hero of his noble work on the State. Plutarch opened the series of his *Parallel Lives* with Scipio and Epaminondas : in the moral sphere they were to him the most perfect statesmen of the two nations. It was through the pen of Scipio's older friend, Polybius, that his picture stood out so clear and so perfect before the eyes of after generations. What that friendship was Polybius is to tell us here. Unfortunately, large parts of the great history of Polybius have almost disappeared, as also has the biography by Plutarch, so that we cannot see further how Polybius gradually developed the sketch into a complete picture of his hero.

General characteristics of important personages are given in historical works, either on the occasion of their first entry upon the scene, or just when they have touched the highest point in their career, or, most frequently, the occasion is given by their death ; and, in order to make the personality stand out in its completeness, facts are often related that did not come to the surface in the main stream of the narrative : in addition, we look for an estimate by the historian of the person and of his doings. Every historian paints these portraits, pronounces these judgements ; else he is no historian. But the uses he can make of them in weaving the fabric of his work are various. The rule in fully developed Greek history is applied by Diodorus with a mechanical monotony. Every great man has sentence pronounced on him at his death. In the work of better artists two types occur : either the historian submits these portraits and judgements as his own, as Sallust does in the little monographs, or he allows his persons to characterize themselves through their actions and words, or gives the judgement of contemporaries and of posterity upon him, as Thucydides does almost invariably, and Tacitus frequently. Polybius (who in this respect had been anticipated by Theopompus, the historian of Philip II of Macedon) takes a middle course. While he leaves his hero to reveal his own

character to us by acts and words, he often interrupts his narrative for various objects, and not unfrequently in order to institute a discussion on persons: these are not general criticisms of the chief characters, but developments, frequently involving controversy, of single sides of their nature. Thus he occupies himself with the question whether, in the case of the victor of Zama, Inspiration and Good Fortune or Calculation and Merit predominated: with Hannibal's skill in reading the intentions of his enemy: with the barbarity and avarice that many attributed to him; and in every case he gives some part of the character, but never a full-length portrait. The death of the victor of Pydna gave him occasion to describe how his son early gained well-merited esteem. We have no complete description of the perfect hero, but a series of arresting traits for the picture of the coming great man.

Setting aside the opening, which deals with an event of 160 B.C., and the close, which is concerned with 168 B.C., the description is given in chronological sequence. The nearer acquaintance of Scipio with Polybius dates from 166 B.C.: about five years later we may place the death of the widow of the great Scipio, and that of Paullus some two years after that.

Τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον σημεῖον τῆς Λευκίου  
Αἰμιλίου προαιρέσεως μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον ἐγένετο  
πᾶσιν ἔκδηλον· οἷος γὰρ ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἐδοξά-  
ζετο, τοιοῦτος εὗρέθη τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, ὃ μέγι-  
5 στον εἴποι τις ἂν ὑπάρχειν τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς. ὁ γὰρ  
πλείστον μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας χρυσὸν εἰς  
τὴν Ῥώμην μετενηνοχῶς, μεγίστων δὲ θησαυρῶν κύριος  
γενόμενος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πλείστης δὲ περὶ τὰ προειρη-  
μένα τετευχῶς ἐξουσίας, τοσοῦτον ἀπέλιπε τὸν ἴδιον βίον  
10 ὥστε τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκδεξαμένους τὴν κληρονομίαν μὴ  
δύνασθαι τὴν φερνὴν τῇ γυναικὶ διαλῦσαι πᾶσαν ἐκ  
τῶν ἐπέπλων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἐγγείων τινὰς προσαπέδοντο  
κτήσεων· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς πρὸ  
τούτων εἰρήκαμεν. ἐξ ὧν εἴποι τις ἂν καταλελῦσθαι

τὴν δόξαν τῶν θαυματομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ  
 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνδρῶν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ διδομένων χρημάτων  
 ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ διδόντος συμφέροντι, τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι  
 θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὃ λέγεται γεγονέναι περί τε τὸν  
 Ἀθηναῖον Ἀριστείδην καὶ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἐπαμινών- 5  
 δαν, τὸ κύριον γενόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείας,  
 καὶ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὡς βούλεται χρήσασθαι,  
 μηδεὶς ἐπιθυμῆσαι πόσῳ θαυμαστότερόν ἐστιν; εἰ δ'  
 ἀπίστῳ τὸ λεγόμενον εἰκέναι δόξει τισίν, ἐκείνο δεῖ  
 λαμβάνειν ἐν νῷ, διότι σαφῶς ὁ γράφων ἤδει μάλιστα 10  
 Ῥωμαίους ἀναληψομένους εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰ βιβλία  
 ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ τὰς πλείστας  
 αὐτῶν πράξεις ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι· παρ' οἷς οὐτ'  
 ἀγνοεῖσθαι ταῦτα δυνατόν οὔτε συγγνώμης τεύξεσθαι  
 τὸν ψευδολόγον εἰκός, διόπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν εἰς πρό- 15  
 δηλον ἀπιστίαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἔδωκεν αὐτόν. καὶ  
 τοῦτο μνημονεύεσθω παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν ἡμῖν,  
 ὅταν τι παράδοξον δοκῶμεν λέγειν περὶ Ῥωμαίων.

Τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐφόδου καὶ τῶν καιρῶν  
 ἐφεστακότων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην βούλομαι τὸ 20  
 κατὰ τὴν προτέραν βύβλον ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ καταλειφθὲν  
 συνεκπληρῶσαι τῶν φιληκόων ἕνεκα. προῦπεσχόμεν  
 γὰρ διηγήσεσθαι διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προέκοψε  
 καὶ θάπτον ἢ καθῆκεν ἐξέλαμψεν ἢ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐν  
 τῇ Ῥώμῃ δόξα, σὺν δὲ τούτῳ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξή- 25  
 θῆναι συνέβη τῷ Πολυβίῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον  
 φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἕως τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιδιατεῖναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν φήμην,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πορρωτέρω γνώριμον γενέσθαι τὴν αἵρε-  
 σιν καὶ συμπεριφορὰν αὐτῶν. διότι μὲν οὖν ἡ καταρχὴ 30  
 τῆς συστάσεως ἐγεννήθη τοῖς προειρημένοις ἕκ τινος  
 χρήσεως βυβλίων καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων λαλιᾶς, δεδη-  
 λώκαμεν· προβαίνουσης δὲ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ τῶν

ἀνακεκλημένων ἐκπεμπομένων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, διέ-  
 σπενσαν ὃ τε Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου  
 νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν μείναι τὸν Πολύβιον ἐν τῇ  
 Ῥώμῃ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς συμπεριφορᾶς ἐπὶ  
 5 πολὺν προκοποῦσης, ἐγένετο συγκύρημά τι τοιοῦτον.  
 ἐκπορευομένων γάρ ποτε κατὰ ταῦτὸ πάντων ἐκ τῆς  
 οἰκίας τῆς τοῦ Φαβίου, συνέβη τὸν μὲν Φάβιον ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπονεῦσαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ θάτερα  
 μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. προαγόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Πόπλιος  
 10 ἡσυχῇ καὶ πράως τῇ φωνῇ φθεγξάμενος καὶ τῷ χρώ-  
 ματι γενόμενος ἐνερευθῆς 'τί δαί' φησίν, 'ὦ Πολύβιε,  
 δὺ' ὄντων ἡμῶν τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ καὶ διαλέγει συνεχῶς  
 καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ποιεῖ πρὸς  
 ἐκείνον, ἐμὲ δὲ παραπέμπεις; ἡ δὴλον ὅτι καὶ σὺ περὶ  
 15 ἐμοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις διάληψιν, ἣν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 πολίτας ἔχειν πυνθάνομαι. δοκῶ γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσιν  
 ἡσύχιός τις καὶ νωθρός, ὥς ἀκούω, καὶ πολὺν κεχωρι-  
 σμένος τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ πράξεως, ὅτι κρίσεις  
 οὐχ αἰροῦμαι λέγειν. τὴν δ' οἰκίαν οὗ φασι τοιοῦτον  
 20 ζητεῖν προστάτην ἐξ ἧς ὀρμῶμαι, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον  
 \* \* \* . ὃ καὶ μάλιστά με λυπεῖ.' ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος  
 ξενισθεὶς τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου καταρχῇ τῶν λόγων (οὐ γὰρ  
 εἶχε πλέον ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τότε) 'μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, Σκι-  
 πίων,' ἔφη, 'μήτε λέγε ταῦτα μήτ' ἐν νῷ λάμβανε τὸ  
 25 παράπαν. οὔτε γὰρ καταγιγνώσκων οὔτε παραπέμπων  
 ἐγὼ σε ποιῶ τοῦτο, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβύτερον  
 εἶναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἄρχομαί τ' ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνου καὶ λήγω πάλιν εἰς ἐκείνον, ἔν τε ταῖς ἀπο-  
 φάσεσι καὶ συμβουλίαις πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπερείδομαι,  
 30 δοκῶν καὶ σὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέχειν γνώμης ἐκείνῳ. σοῦ  
 γε μὴν ἄγαμαι νῦν ἀκούων, ὅτι δοκεῖς αὐτῷ πρᾶύτερος  
 εἶναι τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ὀρμω-  
 μένοις· δῆλος γὰρ εἶ διὰ τούτων μέγα φρονῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ

κὰν αὐτὸς ἡδέως σοι συνεπιδοίην ἑμαυτὸν καὶ συνεργὸς  
 γενοίμην εἰς τὸ καὶ λέγειν τι καὶ πράττειν ἄξιον τῶν  
 προγόνων. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μαθήματα, περὶ ἃ νῦν ὀρῶ  
 σπουδάζοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμουμένους, οὐκ ἀπορήσετε  
 τῶν συνεργησόντων ὑμῖν ἐτοίμως, καὶ σοὶ κάκείνῳ· πολὺ 5  
 γὰρ δὴ τι φῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιρρέον ὀρῶ κατὰ  
 τὸ παρὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων. εἰς δὲ τὰ λυποῦντά  
 σε νῦν, καθὼς φῆς, δοκῶ μηδένα συναγωνιστὴν καὶ  
 συνεργὸν ἄλλον εὑρεῖν ἢ ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότερον. ἔτι δὲ  
 ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Πολυβίου, λαβόμενος ἀμφοτέραις 10  
 χερσὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πῖσας ἐμπαθῶς ‘εἰ γὰρ  
 ἐγὼ ταύτην’ φησὶν, ‘ἴδοιμι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ σὺ πάντα  
 τᾶλλα δεύτερα θέμενος ἐμοὶ προσέξεις τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετ’  
 ἐμοῦ συμβιώσει. δόξω γὰρ αὐτόθεν εὐθέως ἑμαυτῷ  
 καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἄξιος εἶναι καὶ τῶν προγόνων.’ ὁ δὲ 15  
 Πολύβιος τὰ μὲν ἔχαιρε, θεωρῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν  
 ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ μειρακίου, τὰ δὲ διηπορεῖτο, λαμβάνων ἐν  
 νῷ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν. πλὴν ἀπὸ γε ταύτης τῆς ἀνθομολογήσεως  
 οὐκέτι τὸ μειράκιον ἐχωρίσθη τοῦ Πολυβίου, πάντα δ’ 20  
 ἦν αὐτῷ δεύτερα τῆς ἐκείνου συμπεριφορᾶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τού-  
 των τῶν καιρῶν λοιπὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν  
 τῶν πραγμάτων πείραν αὐτῶν διδόντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς  
 πατρικὴν καὶ συγγενικὴν ἦλθον αἵρεσιν καὶ φιλο-  
 στοργίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. 25

Πρώτῃ δέ τις ἐνέπεσεν ὁρμὴ καὶ ζήλος τῶν καλῶν τὸ  
 τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ παραδραμεῖν  
 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν  
 ὑπάρχοντας. ὦν δὲ μέγας οὗτος καὶ δυσέφικτος ὁ  
 στέφανος εὐθήρατος ἦν κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ 30  
 Ἰώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὁρμὴν τῶν πλείστων.  
 συνέβη δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν αἵρεσιν οἷον ἐκλάμψαι κατὰ  
 τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ

καταλυθείσης τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας δοκεῖν ἀδήριτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἐπίφασιν γενέσθαι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας περὶ τε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινά, τῶν ἐκ  
 5 Μακεδονίας μετακομισθέντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην χορηγίων. πλὴν ὃ γε Σκιπίων ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντιταξάμενος καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὁμολογούμενον καὶ σύμφωνον ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσας κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἐν ἴσως πέντε τοῖς πρώτοις  
 10 ἔτεσι πάνδημον ἐποίησατο τὴν ἐπ' εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχία καὶ καθαρότητι διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καλὴν μὲν  
 15 ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς συμβίωσιν, καλὰς δ' ἐκ φύσεως ὁρμὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέον· πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ταυτόματον συνήργησε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην. πρώτη μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον ἢ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πατρὸς μήτηρ, ἣτις ἦν ἀδελφῇ  
 20 μὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πάππου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ μεγάλου προσαγορευθέντος. ταύτης ἀπολιπούσης οὐσίαν μεγάλην κληρονόμος ὢν πρῶτον ἐν τούτοις ἐμελλε πείραν δώσειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. συνέβαινε δὲ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν  
 25 (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ προειρημένῃ γυναικί) μεγαλομερῇ τὴν περιστάσιν ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐξόδοις, ἅτε συνηκμακυῖαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῇ Σκιπίωνος· χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀπῆνην κόσμου καὶ τὰ κανᾶ καὶ τὰ ποτήρια καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν  
 30 θυσίαν ποτὲ μὲν ἀργυρᾶ ποτὲ δὲ χρυσᾶ πάντα συνεξοκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξόδους αὐτῇ, τό τε τῶν παιδισκῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν παρεπομένων πλήθος ἀκόλουθον ἦν τούτοις. ταύτην δὲ τὴν περικοπὴν ἄπασαν



εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τῆς Αἰμιλίας τάφον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ μητρί, ἣ συνέβαινε κεχωρίσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου πρότερον ἤδη χρόνοις πολλοῖς, τὴν δὲ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν ἐλλιπεστέραν ἔχειν τῆς κατὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν φαντασίας. διδὼν τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἀνακεχωρηκυίας αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν 5 ἐπισήμων ἐξόδων, τότε κατὰ τύχην οὔσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας, ἐκπορευομένης αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς Αἰμιλίας περικοπῇ καὶ χορηγίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τῶν ὀρεωκόμων καὶ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ τῆς ἀπῆνης τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχούσης, συνέβη τὰς γυναῖκας θεωμένας τὸ 10 γεγονὸς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος χρηστότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν, καὶ πάσας προτεινούσας τὰς χεῖρας εὐχέσθαι τῷ προειρημένῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ. τοῦτο δὲ πανταχῇ μὲν ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιτο καλόν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαυμαστόν· ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ δίδωσι τῶν 15 ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων ἐκὼν οὐδέν.

Πρώτη μὲν οὖν αὕτη καταρχὴ τῆς ἐπὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ φήμης αὐτῷ συνεκύρησε, καὶ μεγάλην ἐποίησε προκοπὴν, ἅτε τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν γένους καὶ λάλου καὶ κατακοροῦς ὄντος, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν ὀρμήσῃ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς 20 Σκιπίωνος μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου θυγατράσιν, ἀδελφαῖς δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πατρός, τὴν κληρονομίαν παραλαβόντα αὐτὸν ἔδει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς φερνῆς. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ συνέθετο μὲν ἑκατέρα τῶν θυγατέρων πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δώσειν, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ παραχρήμα 25 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔδωκεν ἡ μήτηρ, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ κατέλειπεν ἀποθνήσκουσα προσοφειλόμενον, ὅθεν ἔδει Σκιπίωνα διαλύειν τοῦτο τὸ χρέος ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφαῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους δέον ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ προσοφειλόμενα χρήματα τῆς φερνῆς 30 ταῖς γυναῖξί, προδοθέντων πρώτων τῶν ἐπίπλων εἰς δέκα μῆνας κατὰ τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔθος, εὐθέως ὁ Σκιπίων συνέταξε τῷ τραπεζίτῃ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε τάλάντων

ἑκατέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἐν τοῖς δέκα  
 μηνσί. τοῦ δὲ Τεβερίου καὶ τοῦ Νασικᾶ Σκιπίωνος  
 (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρες τῶν προειρημένων γυναικῶν)  
 ἅμα τῷ διελθεῖν τοὺς δέκα μῆνας προσπορευομένων  
 5 πρὸς τὸν τραπεζίτην καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ τι συνετέ-  
 τακτο Σκιπίων αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, κάκεινους  
 κελεύοντας αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι καὶ ποιούντος τὴν δια-  
 γραφὴν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε τάλάντων,  
 ἄγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ πᾶν κατὰ  
 10 τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος κομίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς  
 νόμους. τοῦ δὲ φάσκοντος οὕτως αὐτῷ συντεταχέναι τὸν  
 Σκιπίωνα, διαπιστήσαντες προῆγον ἐπὶ τὸν νεανίσκον,  
 διειληφότες ἐκείνους ἄγνοεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπασχον οὐκ  
 ἀλόγως· οὐ γὰρ οἶον πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δοίη τις  
 15 ἂν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τάλαντον ἐν  
 πρὸ τῆς τεταγμένης ἡμέρας· τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ καὶ  
 τηλικαύτη περὶ πάντας ἅμα μὲν ἀκρίβεια περὶ τὸ  
 διάφορον, ἅμα δὲ λυσιτέλεια περὶ τὸν χρόνον. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ προσπορευθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ πυνθανομένων, πῶς  
 20 τῷ τραπεζίτῃ συντέταχε, τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ἀποδοῦναι  
 πᾶν τὸ χρήμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἄγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν,  
 ἅμα τὸ κηδεμονικὸν ἐμφανίζοντες· ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους χρήσθαι τοῖς διαφόροις ἱκανὸν ἔτι  
 χρόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἄγνοεῖν ἔφη τούτων οὐδέν,  
 25 ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων  
 ἀκρίβειαν τηρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπλῶς  
 χρήσθαι καὶ γενναίως κατὰ δύναμιν· διὸ παραλαμβάνειν  
 αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε πᾶν τὸ χρήμα παρὰ τοῦ τραπεζίτου.  
 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπανῆγον  
 30 σιωπῶντες, καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος  
 μεγαλοψυχίαν, κατεγνωκότες δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας  
 καίπερ ὄντες οὐδενὸς δεῦτεροι Ῥωμαίων.

Μετὰ δ' ἔτη δύο μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς

αὐτοῦ Λευκίου καὶ καταλιπόντος κληρονόμους τῆς οὐσίας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Φάβιον, καλὸν τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Λεύκιος ὑπάρχων ἄτεκνος διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἐκδεδῶσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους υἱούς, οὓς ἔτρεφε διαδόχους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους, 5 πάντας μετηλλαχέναι, τούτοις ἀπέλιπε τὴν οὐσίαν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων θεωρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καταδεέστερον ὄντα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, ἐξεχώρησε πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οὔσης τῆς ὅλης τιμήσεως ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, διὰ τὸ μέλλειν οὕτως ἴσον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ 10 κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Φάβιον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου περιβοήτου, προσέθηκεν ἕτερον τούτῳ δείγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως ἐμφανέστερον· βουλομένου γὰρ τἀδελφοῦ μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν, οὐ δυναμένου δὲ δέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκο- 15 μένων χρημάτων, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσήνεγκεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας. ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ σύμπασα τριάκοντα ταλάντων, ἐάν τις μεγαλομερῶς ποιῇ. λαμπρᾶς δ' ἤδη διὰ ταῦτα τῆς φήμης περὶ αὐτοῦ διαδιδομένης μετήλλαξεν ἡ μήτηρ. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦ- 20 τον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κομίσασθαι τι ὧν πρότερον ἐδωρήσατο, περὶ ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐσίαν τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἅπασαν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἧς οὐδὲν αὐταῖς προσήκε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. διὸ πάλιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραλαβουσῶν τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις κόσμον 25 καὶ τὴν περίστασιν τὴν τῆς Αἰμιλίας, πάλιν ἐκαινοποιήθη τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλοκίειον τῆς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος προαιρέσεως.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προκατεσκευασμένος ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας Πόπλιος Σκιπίων προῆλθε πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν 30 σωφροσύνη καὶ καλοκαγαθία. καὶ μὴν ἴσως ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα δαπανήσας (τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἦν προειμένος τῶν ἰδίων) ὁμολογουμένην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπὶ καλοκαγαθία φήμην,

- οὐχ οὕτω τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τὸ προκείμενον  
κατεργασάμενος ὥς τῷ καιρῷ τῆς δόσεως καὶ τῷ  
χειρισμῷ τῆς χάριτος. τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην περι-  
ποίησατο δαπανήσας μὲν οὐδέν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ  
5 ποικίλων ἡδονῶν ἀποσχόμενος, προσεκέρδανε δὲ τὴν  
σωματικὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν, ἥτις αὐτῷ παρ'  
ὅλον τὸν βίον παρεπομένη πολλὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ καλὰς  
ἀμοιβὰς ἀπέδωκεν ἀνθ' ὧν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τῶν  
προχείρων ἡδονῶν.
- 10 Λοιποῦ δ' ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μέρους, καὶ  
κυριωτάτου σχεδὸν ἐν πάσῃ μὲν πολιτείᾳ μάλιστα δ'  
ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μεγίστην ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν περὶ  
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιήσασθαι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τι πρὸς  
ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῆς τύχης ἐγένετο  
15 συνέργημα. τῶν γὰρ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλέων μεγίστην  
ποιουμένων σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας καὶ ἀνεικότων  
τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τόπους πρὸς τὴν τῶν θηρίων  
συναγωγὴν, ταῦτα συνέβη τὰ χωρία τετηρηῆσθαι μὲν  
ἐπιμελῶς καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου  
20 χρόνον, κεκυνηγῆσθαι δὲ μηδέποτε τῶν τεττάρων ἐτῶν  
διὰ τοὺς περισπασμούς· ἥ καὶ θηρίων ὑπῆρχε πλήρη  
παντοδαπῶν. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου λαβόντος κρίσιν ὁ  
Λεύκιος, καλλίστην ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν  
καὶ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς νέοις τὴν περὶ τὰ  
25 κυνηγέσια, τοὺς τε κυνηγοὺς συνέστησε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς  
τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια  
παρέδωκε τούτῳ πᾶσαν· ἥς ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ προειρη-  
μένος καὶ νομίσας οἷονεὶ βασιλεύειν, ἐν τούτῳ κατεγίνετο  
πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐπέμεινε τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ  
30 τὴν μάχην ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης  
ἐξουσίας περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὥς κατὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν  
ἀκμαίως ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείως διακει-  
μένου, καθάπερ εὐγενοῦς σκύλακος, ἐπίμονον αὐτοῦ

συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας ὁρμὴν· διὸ καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ προσλαβὼν τὸν τοῦ Πολυβίου πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐνθουσιασμόν, ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νέων περὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τοὺς χαιρετισμοὺς ἐσπούδαζον κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ποιούμενοι 5 τὴν διατριβὴν καὶ διὰ τούτων συνιστάνειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν ταῖς κυνηγεσίαις ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ λαμπρὸν αἰεὶ τι ποίῳ καὶ μνήμῃς ἄξιον καλλίῳ δόξαν ἐξεφέρετο τῶν ἄλλων. οἷς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, εἰ μὴ 10 βλάψαιέν τινα τῶν πολιτῶν (ὁ γὰρ τῶν κρίσεων τρόπος τοῦτ' ἐπιφέρειν εἶωθεν) δ' ἀπλῶς οὐδένα λυπῶν ἐξεφέρετο τὴν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία δόξαν πάνδημον, ἔργῳ πρὸς λόγον ἀμιλλώμενος. τοιγαροῦν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτον παρέδραμε τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὅσον οὐδεὶς πω μνημονεύεται 15 Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν πορευθεὶς ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα.

Ἐγὼ δὲ πλείω πεποίημαι λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς Σκιπίωνος αἰρέσεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ἥδεῖαν μὲν ὑπολαμ- 20 βάνων εἶναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὠφέλιμον δὲ τοῖς νέοις τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν, μάλιστα δὲ βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς μέλλουσι λέγεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς βύβλοις περὶ αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν 25 συμβαινόντων μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτὸν μήτ' ἀφαιρουμέ- νους τάνδρως τὰ κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατορθώματα τῇ τύχῃ προσάπτειν, ἀγνοοῦντας τὰς αἰτίας ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστα συνέβη γενέσθαι, πλὴν τελέως ὀλίγων, ἃ δεῖ μόνον προσάπτειν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ταῦτομάτῳ. 30

## V

## CUSTOMS OF THE CELTS

From POSIDONIUS.

STRABO, a learned man of Amasea in Pontus, was drawn to Rome immediately after the ending of the civil war that brought Octavius to the throne; and there he worked as a historian. His *Geography* was written from the historical point of view, and was intended for the educated public in general; and, though he deals carefully with the mathematical ground-work of geography, it cannot be said that he possessed the requisite scientific attainments. But he made the best use of the available literary material, and picked up, for the most part in Rome, a wonderfully just knowledge of the Empire. Hence this work of his old age, produced in the early years of Tiberius' reign, gives a survey of the geographical and ethnographical knowledge of the time, which does in fact impress us through the author's mastery over his material. The influence of previous writers is seen everywhere: the foundation is the geography of Artemidorus of Ephesus, written about 100 B.C. Strabo also used Latin books and obtained information from Roman official sources. The influence of Posidonius too is strong, although Strabo had little sympathy with the religious disposition and artistic bias of Posidonius. The latter was the last great historian who had understood and described the connexion between the character of a country and its inhabitants, between the nature and the history of countries; and his influence was the more considerable, in that he was the last scholar and author with a great style that antiquity produced.

Posidonius was born at Apamea in Syria. In the time of Augustus it was a town of 170,000 inhabitants, but now it is a poverty-stricken village. He received his education at Athens and Rhodes, and settled permanently at the latter place, after making long voyages in the western seas and visiting Rome, where, following the example of Polybius and Panaetius, he attached himself to the ruling oligarchy. To this society he remained faithful, not only when Mithridates won over to his side the greatest part of the Greeks, but also in the history that he wrote as a continuation of

Polybius, though he was not blind to the social evils, especially that of slavery, which first grew to dangerous proportions under the Roman system. When he established himself in Rhodes, that island was the centre of freedom and learning, of astronomy which, mainly through Hipparchus, the discoverer of trigonometry, had made its home there, and of scientific grammar. At Rhodes, Cicero and Varro heard him, as did Pompey during his eastern expeditions. He was to the Romans for many years the embodiment of Hellenic culture. Though a Stoic, he had studied Plato and Aristotle. Like Aristotle he ranged over the several sciences, especially the natural sciences, and sought to comprehend the World and Life in their broadest aspects. He himself wrote on mathematics, and endeavoured to ascertain by calculation the measurement of the earth's circumference, and the size and distance of the sun, mingling exact science with audacious hypotheses, yet often arriving nearer the truth than the specialists. He observed the tides for himself, he thought over the circumnavigation of Africa, and the sea route to India during his voyage to the west. He apprehended geology to be the history of the earth's crust during countless ages.

His visit to Gaul occurred about 100 B.C. He made it his object to understand and to give an exhaustive description of the Celts. Being a philosopher, he was not only eager, but qualified to comprehend the character of the people, both as it was manifested in their customs, and how it was influenced by their surroundings. He observed certain resemblances between that primitive people and the primitive condition of his own race. He shows no traces of any sentimental tendency, such as that which lends a charm to Tacitus' account of the Germans, but, at the same time, blurs the outline of his picture. Posidonius had but one object, to get at the truth in the interests of science.

The Celts had become known to the Greeks, when about 500 B.C. they penetrated into Southern Gaul, North Italy, and down the Danube. But it was only through the incursion of the Gauls into the Balkan peninsula, which in 279 B.C. carried them as far south as Delphi, that the Greeks came to know them well, when Macedon no longer formed an effectual barrier to the barbarians. Henceforward, and

especially since the inroad of three tribes into the interior of Asia Minor, the character of the new people was generally known. Only with difficulty did it shake off its wildness. This knowledge, however, has come down to us solely through the plastic art, which, since the victories of Attalus of Pergamum, represents the strange people not merely in their outward appearance, but so as to reflect also the noble sense of freedom inherent in the race. The group of the Celt and his wife<sup>1</sup>, the dying Gaul of the Capitol, and the statues from the votive offering of King Attalus at Athens are the most celebrated examples. They merit comparison with the description of Posidonius. Later ages added hardly anything to them. It is only in the provincial art of after times that we can find fresh material, but the type of figure is no longer the true Celtic.

When Caesar formed the great design of conquering Gaul, he took with him the history of Posidonius; and his description of the Gauls is based on this earlier account. The two should be compared. In Latin literature the great history excited the emulation of Tacitus in his geographical digressions; and a further development leads the way to the *Germania* of Tacitus.

We possess but little of Posidonius in its original form; of what there is the best is contained in the piece lettered *c*. Strabo gives in his own arrangement and language an intelligently made extract. More detailed, and less independent, the work of a small mind and a small stylist, is the selection given by Diodorus, who compiled his *World's History* in the first years of Augustus' reign.—In the following passages, repetitions are avoided as much as possible by cutting down the text. It was impossible to do this thoroughly. But the reader has here an opportunity of realizing that we possess many ancient works of authority only through the medium of excerptors and imitators of widely different capacity.

a. Extract by STRABO.

Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν φῶλον, ὃ νῦν Γαλλικόν τε καὶ Γαλατικὸν καλοῦσιν, ἀρειμάνιον ἔστι καὶ θυμικόν τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Baumeister, fig. 1409, fol.



ταχὺ πρὸς μάχην, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπλοῦν καὶ οὐ κακότηες.  
 διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐρεθισθέντες μὲν ἄθροοι συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἀγῶνας καὶ φανερώς καὶ οὐ μετὰ περισκέψεως, ὥστε  
 καὶ εὐμεταχείριστοι γίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖν  
 ἐθέλουσι· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται καὶ ὅπου καὶ ἀφ' 5  
 ἧς ἔτυχε προφάσεως παροξύνας τις αὐτοὺς ἐτοίμους  
 ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, πλὴν βίας καὶ τόλμης οὐδὲν  
 ἔχοντας τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον. παραπεισθέντες δὲ εὐμα-  
 ρῶς ἐνδιδόασιν πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, ὥστε καὶ παιδείας  
 ἄπτεσθαι καὶ λόγων. τῆς δὲ βίας τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν 10  
 σωμάτων ἐστὶ μεγάλων ὄντων, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους·  
 συνίασι δὲ κατὰ πλήθος ῥαδίως διὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἀκὶ  
 αὐθέκαστον, συναγανακτούντων τοῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν  
 αἰεὶ τῶν πλησίον. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντες εἰσὶ  
 δεδουλωμένοι καὶ ζῶντες κατὰ τὰ προστάγματα τῶν 15  
 ἐλόντων αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων  
 τοῦτο λαμβάνομεν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν μέχρι νῦν  
 συμμενόντων παρὰ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς νομίμων. καὶ γὰρ τῇ  
 φύσει καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐμφερεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς  
 ἀλλήλοις οὗτοι, ὁμορόν τε οἰκοῦσι χώραν διοριζομένην τῷ 20  
 Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ καὶ παραπλήσια ἔχουσιν τὰ πλείστα.  
 διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις αὐτῶν ῥαδίως  
 ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων ἀγέληδὸν καὶ πανστρα-  
 τιᾷ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πανοικίων ἐξαιρόντων, ὅταν ὑπ'  
 ἄλλων ἐκβάλλωνται κρειπτόνων. οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πολὺ 25  
 ῥᾶον τούτους ἐχειρώσαντο ἢ τοὺς Ἰβήρας· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἤρξαντο πρότερον καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ὕστερον ἐκείνοις  
 πολεμοῦντες, τούτους δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ σύμπαντας  
 κατέλυσαν, τοὺς ἀνὰ μέσον Ῥήνου καὶ τῶν Πυρηναίων  
 ὄρων. ἄθροοι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πλήθος ἐμπίπτοντες ἄθροοι 30  
 κατελύοντο, οἳ δ' ἐταμίεον καὶ κατεκερμάτιζον τοὺς  
 ἀγῶνας, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι καὶ κατ' ἄλλα μέρη ληστρικῶς  
 πολεμοῦντες.

Εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν μαχηταὶ πάντες τῇ φύσει, κρείττους  
 δ' ἰππῶται ἢ πεζοί, καὶ ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἰππείας  
 ἡ ἀρίστη παρὰ τούτων. αἰὲ δὲ οἱ προσβορρότεροι καὶ  
 παρωκεανίται μαχιμώτεροι. τούτων δὲ τοὺς Βέλγας  
 5 ἀρίστους φασίν, εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔθνη διηρημένους,  
 τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Λίγης παροικοῦντα  
 τὸν ὠκεανόν, οὓς καὶ μόνους ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 Γερμανῶν ἔφοδον, Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων. αὐτῶν  
 δὲ τῶν Βελγῶν Βελλοάκους ἀρίστους φασί, μετὰ δὲ  
 10 τούτους Σουεσσίανας. τῆς δὲ πολυανθρωπίας σημεῖον·  
 εἰς γὰρ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἐξετάζεσθαι φασὶ τῶν  
 Βελγῶν πρότερον τῶν δυναμένων φέρειν ὅπλα. ἐξ ὧν  
 ἡ πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται καί, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἡ τῶν γυναι-  
 κῶν ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας.  
 15 Σαγηφοροῦσι δὲ καὶ κομοτροφοῦσι καὶ ἀναξυρίσι  
 χρῶνται περιεταμέναις, ἀντὶ δὲ χιτῶνων σχιστοὺς  
 χειριδωτοὺς φέρουσι. ἡ δ' ἐρέα τραχεῖα μὲν ἀκρόμαλλος  
 δέ, ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς δασεῖς σάγους ἐξυφαίνουσιν οὓς λαίνας  
 καλοῦσιν· οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσβορροτά-  
 20 τοις ὑποδιφθέρους τρέφουσι ποιμένας ἱκανῶς ἀστείας  
 ἐρέας. ὀπλισμὸς δὲ σύμμετρος τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων  
 μεγέθεσι, μάχαιρα μακρὰ παρηρτημένη παρὰ τὸ δεξιὸν  
 πλευρόν, καὶ θυρεὸς μακρὸς καὶ λόγχαι κατὰ λόγον καὶ  
 παλτοῦ τι εἶδος. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τόξοις ἔνιοι καὶ  
 25 σφενδόναίς· ἔστι δέ τι καὶ γρόσφω ἑοικὸς ξύλον, ἐκ  
 χειρός, οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἀφιέμενον, τηλεβολώτερον καὶ  
 βέλους, ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὀρνέων χρῶνται  
 θήρας. χαμευνοῦσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ  
 30 καθεζόμενοι δειπνοῦσιν ἐν στιβάσι. τροφὴ δὲ πλείστη  
 διὰ γάλακτος καὶ κρεῶν παντοίων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν  
 ὑείων, καὶ νέων καὶ ἀλιστῶν. αἱ δ' ὕες καὶ ἀγραυλοῦσιν,  
 ὕψει τε καὶ ἀλκῇ καὶ τάχει διαφέρουσιν· κίνδυνος γοῦν  
 ἐστὶ τῷ ἀήθει προσιόντι, ὡσαύτως καὶ λύκῳ. τοὺς

δ' οἶκους ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γέρρων ἔχουσι μαγάλους  
 θολοειδεῖς, ὄροφον πολὺν ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὕτως δ' ἐστὶ  
 δαψιλῇ καὶ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ ὑοφόρβια ὥστε τῶν  
 σάγων καὶ τῆς ταριχείας ἀφθονίαν μὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ χορη-  
 γεῖσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Ἀριστοκρατικά δ' ἦσαν αἱ πλείους τῶν πολιτειῶν·  
 ἓνα δ' ἡγεμόνα ἤρουντο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ παλαιόν, ὥς  
 δ' αὐτως εἰς πόλεμον εἰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπεδείκνυτο  
 στρατηγός· νυνὶ δὲ προσέχουσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 προστάγμασι τὸ πλεόν. ἴδιον δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις  
 συμβαῖνον· ἐὰν γάρ τις θορυβῇ τὸν λέγοντα καὶ  
 ὑποκρούσῃ, προσιῶν ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἐσπασμένος τὸ ξίφος  
 κελεύει σιγᾶν μετ' ἀπειλῆς, μὴ παυομένου δέ, καὶ  
 δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον ποιεῖ τὸ αὐτό, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀφαιρεῖ  
 τοῦ σάγου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἄχρηστον ποιῆσαι τὸ λοιπόν.

b. Extract by DIODOROS, V. 25.

Ἡ τοίνυν Γαλατία κατοικεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν  
 διαφόρων τοῖς μεγέθεσι· τὰ μέγιστα γὰρ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν  
 εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἐλάχιστα πέντε  
 μυριάδας, ὧν ἐστὶν ἐν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχον συγγένειαν  
 παλαιὰν καὶ φιλίαν τὴν μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων  
 διαμένουσιν. κειμένη δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τὰς  
 ἄρκτους χειμέριός ἐστι καὶ ψυχρὰ διαφερόντως. κατὰ  
 γὰρ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἐν ταῖς συννεφέσιν ἡμέραις  
 ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν ὄμβρων χιόνι πολλῇ νίφεται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς  
 αἰθρίας κρυστάλλῳ καὶ πάγοις ἐξαισίσις πλήθει, δι' ὧν  
 οἱ ποταμοὶ πηγνύμενοι διὰ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως γεφυροῦνται·  
 οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ὀδίται κατ' ὀλίγους κατὰ τοῦ  
 κρυστάλλου πορευόμενοι διαβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατο-  
 πέδων μυριάδες μετὰ σκευοφόρων καὶ ἀμαξῶν γεμουσῶν  
 ἀσφαλῶς περαιοῦνται. καὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου διὰ τὴν

φυσικὴν λειότητα ποιοῦντος τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ὀλισθάνειν, ἀχύρων ἐπιβαλλομένων ἀσφαλῆ τὴν διάβασιν ἔχουσι.

Διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ ψύχους διαφθειρομένης τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα κράσεως οὔτε οἶνον οὔτε ἔλαιον  
 5 φέρει· διόπερ τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ τούτων τῶν καρπῶν στερισκόμενοι πόμα κατασκευάζουσιν ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ζύθος, καὶ τὰ κηρία πλύνοντες τῷ τούτων ἀποπλύματι χρῶνται. κάτοινοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τὸν εἰσαγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων οἶνον  
 10 ἄκρατον ἐμφοροῦνται, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λάβρῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ καὶ μεθυσθέντες εἰς ὕπνον ἢ μανιώδεις διαθέσεις τρέπονται. διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὴν συνήθη φιλαργυρίαν ἔρμαιον ἡγοῦνται τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν φιλοινίαν. οὔτοι γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῶν  
 15 πλωτῶν ποταμῶν πλοίοις, διὰ δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος χώρας ἀμάξαις κομίζοντες τὸν οἶνον, ἀντιλαμβάνουσι τιμῆς πλήθος ἄπιστον· διδόντες γὰρ οἶνου κεράμιον ἀντιλαμβάνουσι παῖδα, τοῦ πόματος διάκονον ἀμειβόμενοι.

Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄργυρος μὲν τὸ σύνολον  
 20 οὐ γίνεται, χρυσὸς δὲ πολὺς, ὃν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἢ φύσις ἄνευ μεταλλείας καὶ κακοπαθείας ὑπουργεῖ. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ποταμῶν ῥύσις, σκολιοὺς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἔχουσα, καὶ τοῖς τῶν παρακειμένων ὄρων ὄχθοις προσαράττουσα καὶ μεγάλους ἀπορρηγνύσα κολωνούς, πληροὶ χρυσοῦ  
 25 ψήγματος. τοῦτο δ' οἱ περὶ τὰς ἐργασίας ἀσχολούμενοι συνάγοντες ἀλήθουσιν, ἢ συγκόπτουσι τὰς ἐχούσας τὸ ψήγμα βώλους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς φύσεως τὸ γεῶδες ἀποπλύναντες παραδιδάσιν εἰς τὴν ἐν ταῖς καμίνοις χωνείαν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ σωρεύοντες χρυσοῦ  
 30 πλήθος καταχρῶνται πρὸς κόσμον οὐ μόνον αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ψέλια φοροῦσι, περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐχένας κρίκους παχεῖς ὀλοχρύσους καὶ δακτυλίους ἀξιολόγους,

ἔτι δὲ χρυσοῦς θώρακας. ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον παρὰ τοῖς ἄνω Κελτοῖς ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν γινόμενον· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀνειμένοις ἔρριπται πολὺς χρυσοὺς ἀνατεθειμένος τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐδεὶς ἄπτεται τούτου 5 διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν.

Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν εἰσιν εὐμήκεις, ταῖς δὲ σαρκὶ κάθυγροι καὶ λευκοί, ταῖς δὲ κόμαις οὐ μόνον ἐκ φύσεως ξανθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς 10 ἐπιτηδεύουσιν αὔξειν τὴν φυσικὴν τῆς χροᾶς ιδιότητα. τιτάνου γὰρ ἀποπλύματι σμῶντες τὰς τρίχας συνεχῶς ἀπὸ τῶν μετώπων ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ τοὺς τένοντας ἀνασπῶσιν, ὥστε τὴν πρόσοψιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι Σατύροις καὶ Πᾶσιν ἑοικυῖαν· παχύνονται γὰρ αἱ 15 τρίχες ἀπὸ τῆς κατεργασίας, ὥστε μηδὲν τῆς τῶν ἵππων χαίτης διαφέρειν. τὰ δὲ γένεια τινὲς μὲν ξυρῶνται, τινὲς δὲ μετρίως τρέφουσιν· οἱ δ' εὐγενεῖς τὰς μὲν παρειὰς ἀπολεαίνουσι, τὰς δ' ὑπῆνας ἀνειμένας ἑῶσιν, ὥστε τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι. διόπερ 20 ἐσθιόντων μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπλέκονται ταῖς τροφαῖς, πινόντων δὲ καθαπερεὶ διὰ τινος ἡθμοῦ φέρεται τὸ πόμα. δειπνοῦσι δὲ καθήμενοι πάντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ θρόνων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑποστρώμασι χρώμενοι λύκων ἢ κυνῶν δέρμασι. δια- 25 κονοῦνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτάτων παίδων ἐχόντων ἡλικίαν, ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν. πλησίον δ' αὐτῶν ἐσχάραι κεῖνται γέμουσαι πυρὸς καὶ λέβητας ἔχουσαι καὶ ὀβελοὺς πλήρεις κρεῶν ὀλομελῶν. τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν κρεῶν μοίραις γεραίρουσι, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Αἴαντα παρεισάγει τιμώ- 30 μενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριστέων, ὅτε πρὸς Ἐκτορα μονομαχήσας ἐνίκησε,

νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρε.

καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐωχίας, καὶ μετὰ  
τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπερωτῶσι τίνες εἰσὶ καὶ τίνων χρεῖαν  
ἔχουσιν. εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐκ τῶν  
τυχόντων πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἄμιλλαν καταστάντες,  
5 ἐκ προκλήσεως μονομαχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, παρ' οὐδὲν  
τιθέμενοι τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν· ἐνισχύει γὰρ παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρου λόγος ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων ἀθανάτους εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι' ἐτῶν ὠρισμένων  
πάλιν βιοῦν, εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσδυομένης.  
10 διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐνίους  
ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας τοῖς οἰκείοις τετελευτηκόσιν  
ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πυράν, ὥς τῶν τετελευτηκότων  
ἀναγνωσομένων ταύτας. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς  
μάχαις χρώνται συνωρίσιν, ἔχοντας τοῦ ἄρματος ἡνίοχον  
15 καὶ παραβάτην. ἀπαντῶντες δὲ τοῖς ἐφιππεύουσιν ἐν  
τοῖς πολέμοις σαυνιάζουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ κατα-  
βάντες εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους συνίστανται μάχην.  
ἐνιοὶ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσιν  
ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ περιεζωσμένους καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸν  
20 κίνδυνον. ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους ἐκ  
τῶν πενήτων καταλέγοντες, οἷς ἡνίοχοις καὶ παρασπι-  
σταῖς χρώνται κατὰ τὰς μάχας. κατὰ δὲ τὰς παρατάξεις  
εἰώθασι προάγειν τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι  
τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς μονομαχίαν,  
25 προανασεύοντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ καταπληττόμενοι τοὺς  
ἐναντίους. ὅταν δέ τις ὑπακούσῃ πρὸς τὴν μάχην, τάς  
τε τῶν προγόνων ἀνδραγαθίας ἐξυμνοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν  
ἀρετὰς προφέρονται, καὶ τὸν ἀντιταττόμενον ἐξονειδίζουσι  
καὶ ταπεινοῦσι καὶ τὸ σύνολον· τὸ θάρσος τῆς ψυχῆς  
30 τοῖς λόγοις προαφαιροῦνται. τῶν δὲ πεσόντων πολεμίων  
τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφαιροῦντες περιάπτουσι τοῖς αὐχέσι τῶν  
ἵππων· τὰ δὲ σκῦλα τοῖς θεράπουσι παραδόντες ἤμαγ-  
μένα λαφυραγωγοῦσιν, ἐπιπαιανίζοντες καὶ ᾄδοντες

ἕμνον ἐπινίκιον, καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα ταῖς οἰκίαις  
 προσηλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν κυνηγίαις τισὶ κεχειρωμένοι  
 τὰ θηρία. τῶν δὲ ἐπιφανεστάτων πολεμίων κεδρώσαντες  
 τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπιμελῶς τηροῦσιν ἐν λάρνακι, καὶ τοῖς  
 ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύουσι σεμνυνόμενοι, διότι τῆσδε τῆς κε- 5  
 φαλῆς τῶν προγόνων τις ἢ πατὴρ ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ  
 χρήματα διδόμενα οὐκ ἔλαβε. φασὶ δὲ τινὰς αὐτῶν  
 καυχᾶσθαι, διότι χρυσὸν ἀντίσταθμον τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ  
 ἐδέξαντο, βάρβαρόν τινα μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι·  
 οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ σύσσημα τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐγενές, 10  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τετελευτηκὸς θηριῶδες.

Ἐσθῆσι δὲ χρῶνται κατὰπληκτικαῖς, χιτῶσι μὲν  
 βαπτοῖς χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς καὶ διηνητισμέναις ἀνα-  
 ξυρίσιν, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν· ἐπιπορ-  
 ποῦνται δὲ σάγους ραβδωτοὺς ἐν μὲν τοῖς χειμῶσι 15  
 δασεῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος ψιλούς, πλινθίοις πυκνοῖς καὶ  
 πολυανθέσι διειλημμένους. ὅπλοις δὲ χρῶνται θυρεοῖς  
 μὲν ἀνδρομήκεσι, πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιοτρόπως· τινὲς δὲ  
 καὶ ζῶων χαλκῶν ἑξοχὰς ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον πρὸς κόσμον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰς δεδημιουργημένας. κράνη 20  
 δὲ χαλκᾷ περιτίθενται μεγάλας ἑξοχὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν  
 ἔχοντα, παμμεγέθη φαντασίαν ἐπιφέροντα τοῖς χρωμέ-  
 νοις· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρόσκειται συμφυῇ κέρατα, τοῖς δὲ  
 ὀρνέων ἢ τετραπόδων ζῶων ἐκτετυπωμένοι προτομαί.  
 σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφυεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικάς· ἐμ- 25  
 φυσῶσι γὰρ ταύταις καὶ προβάλλουσιν ἥχον τραχὺν  
 καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκεῖον. θώρακας δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ  
 μὲν σιδηροὺς ἀλυσιδωτοὺς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως  
 δεδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται, γυμνοὶ μαχόμενοι. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ  
 ξίφους σπάθας ἔχουσι μακρὰς σιδηραῖς ἢ χαλκαῖς 30  
 ἀλύσεισιν ἐξηρτημένας, παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν λαγόναν παρα-  
 τεταμένας. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπιχρύσοις ἢ καταρ-  
 γύροις ζωστήρσι συνέζωνται. προβάλλονται δὲ λόγχας,

- ὥς ἐκεῖνοι λαγκίας καλοῦσι, πηχυαῖα τῷ μήκει τοῦ  
 σιδήρου καὶ ἔτι μείζω τὰ ἐπιθήματα ἔχουσας, πλάτει δὲ  
 βραχὺ λείποντα διπαλαίστων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξίφη τῶν  
 παρ' ἑτέροις σαυνίων εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐλάττω, τὰ δὲ σαυνία  
 5 τὰς ἀκμὰς ἔχει τῶν ξιφῶν μείζους. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 ἐπ' εὐθείας κεχάλκευται, τὰ δὲ ἐλικοειδῇ δι' ὅλων  
 ἀνάκλασιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πληγὴν μὴ μόνον  
 τέμνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θραύειν τὰς σάρκας καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ δόρατος σπαράττειν τὸ τραῦμα.
- 10 Αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν καταπληκτικοὶ καὶ ταῖς  
 φωναῖς βαρυηχεῖς καὶ παντελῶς τραχύφωνοι, κατὰ δὲ  
 τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι καὶ αἰνιγματῖαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ  
 αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς, πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερ-  
 βολαῖς ἐπ' αὐξήσει μὲν ἑαυτῶν, μειώσει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων.
- 15 ἀπειληταί τε καὶ ἀνατακτικοὶ καὶ τετραγωδημένοι ὑπάρ-  
 χουσι, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ὀξεῖς καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν οὐκ  
 ἀφυεῖς.
- Εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν, οὓς βάρδους  
 ὀνομάζουσιν. οὗτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίως  
 20 ᾄδοντες οὓς μὲν ὑμνοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ βλασφημοῦσι. φιλό-  
 σοφοὶ τέ τινές εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, οὓς  
 δρουίδας ὀνομάζουσι. χρώνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀπο-  
 δοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτούς· οὗτοι δὲ διὰ τε τῆς  
 οἰωνοσκοπίας καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερείων θυσίας τὰ μέλ-  
 25 λοντα προλέγουσι καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον.  
 μάλιστα δ' ὅταν περί τινων μεγάλων ἐπισκέπτονται,  
 παράδοξον καὶ ἄπιστον ἔχουσι νόμιμον· ἄνθρωπον γὰρ  
 κατασπείσαντες τύπτουσι μαχαίρᾳ κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ  
 διάφραγμα τόπον, καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ πληγέντος ἐκ τῆς  
 30 πτώσεως καὶ τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ τῶν μελῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ  
 αἵματος ῥύσεως τὸ μέλλον νοοῦσι, παλαιᾷ τινι καὶ  
 πολυχρονίῳ παρατηρήσει περὶ τούτων πεπιστευκότες.  
 ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μηδένα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἄνευ φιλο-



σόφον· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐμπείρων τῆς θείας φύσεως ὥσπερ εἰ  
 τινων ὁμοφώνων τὰ χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς φασι δεῖν  
 προσφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τούτων οἶονται δεῖν τάγαθὰ αἰτεῖ-  
 σθαι. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν ταῖς εἰρηνικαῖς χρεῖαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τούτοις μάλιστα πείθονται καὶ τοῖς 5  
 μελωδοῦσι ποιηταῖς, οὐ μόνον οἱ φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ  
 πολέμιοι· πολλάκις δ' ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι πλησια-  
 ζόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν  
 ἀνατεταμένοις καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις προβεβλημέναις εἰς τὸ  
 μέσον οὗτοι προελθόντες παύουσιν αὐτούς, ὥσπερ τινὰ 10  
 θηρία κατεπάσαντες. οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις  
 βαρβάροις ὁ θυμὸς εἴκει τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ὁ Ἄρης αἰδεῖται  
 τὰς Μούσας.

Ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τῇ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀγριότητι καὶ περὶ τὰς  
 θυσίας ἐκτόπως ἀσεβοῦσι· τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ 15  
 πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες ἀνασκοποῖζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς  
 καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν καθαγίζουσι, πυρὰς  
 παμμεγέθεις κατασκευάζοντες. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερείοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμάς. τινὲς  
 δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ληφθέντα ζῶα μετὰ τῶν 20  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀποκτείνουσιν ἢ κατακάουσιν ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις  
 τιμωρίαις ἀφανίζουσι.

c. Fragment in ATHENAEUS, IV. 152.

Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις,  
 αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίως ἢς προήρητο φιλοσοφίας  
 πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμιμα ἀναγράφων, 25  
 'Κελτοί, φησί, τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται χόρτον ὑπο-  
 βάλλοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ξυλίνων μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 γῆς ἐπηρμένων. ἡ τροφή δ' ἐστὶν ἄρτοι μὲν ὀλίγοι,  
 κρέα δὲ πολλὰ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ὀπτὰ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων ἢ  
 ὀβελίσκων. προσφέρονται δὲ ταῦτα καθαρείως μὲν, 30  
 λεοντωδῶς δέ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις αἶροντες ὅλα

μέλη καὶ ἀποδάκνοντες, ἐὰν δὲ ἦ τι δυσαπρόσπαστον, μαχαιρίῳ μικρῷ παρατέμνοντες, ὃ τοῖς κολεοῖς ἐν ἰδίᾳ θήκῃ παράκειται. προσφέρονται δὲ καὶ ἰχθῦς οἳ τε παρὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οἰκοῦντες καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐντὸς  
 5 καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, καὶ τούτους δὲ ὀπτοὺς μετὰ ἄλων καὶ ὄξους καὶ κυμίνου· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. ἐλαίῳ δ' οὐ χρῶνται διὰ σπάνιν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσύνηθες ἀηδὲς αὐτοῖς φαίνεται. ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συνδειπνῶσι, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ,  
 10 μέσος δὲ ὁ κράτιστος, ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχειρίαν ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτον, ὁ δ' ὑποδεχόμενος παρ' αὐτόν, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἐκατέρωθε κατ' ἀξίαν ἧς ἔχουσιν ὑπεροχῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀπλοφοροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω  
 15 παρεστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι κύκλῳ καθάπερ οἱ δεσπότες συνευχοῦνται. τὸ δὲ ποτὸν οἱ διακονοῦντες ἐν ἀγγείοις περιφέρουσιν ἑοικόσιν ἀμβίκοις ἢ κεραμείοις ἢ ἀργυροῖς· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πίνακας ἐφ' ὧν τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται τοιούτους ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ  
 20 χαλκοῦς, οἱ δὲ κάνεα ξύλινα καὶ πλεκτά. τὸ δὲ πινόμενόν ἐστι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν οἶνος ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Μασσαλιητῶν χώρας παρακομιζόμενος, ἄκρατος δ' οὗτος· ἐνίοτε δὲ ὀλίγον ὕδωρ παραμίγνυται· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις ζύθος πύρινον μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασ-  
 25 μένον, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καθ' αὐτό· καλεῖται δὲ κόρμα. ἀπορροφοῦσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποτηρίου κατὰ μικρόν, οὐ πλεῖον κυάθου· πυκνότερον δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι. περιφέρει δὲ ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ λαιὰ· οὕτως διακονοῦνται. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 30 δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι.'

## PART II

### I

## TYPES OF MEN

From the 'Characters' of THEOPHRASTUS.

Χαρακτήρ, from *χαράσσω*, is properly an instrument for stamping; then, the impression stamped on a thing, showing its origin and value, especially the impression on coins. In the transferred sense of the mark of a man's being, the *ἠθικὸς χαρακτήρ* of a man, the word was first used by Theophrastus of Erësus in Lesbos, the pupil and successor of Aristotle; and thus the word 'character' was coined. On the other hand Aristotle himself in his ethical discourses had already striven to fix upon the characteristic traits that show what type of man one is, and the poetry of the time had represented on the comic stage the Superstitious Man, the Miser, the Braggart, and other characters so as to fix the types once for all. In the following pages we have some specimens taken from the short collection of 'Characters' by Theophrastus, from which we may discover how permanent are the little weaknesses of human nature, while at the same time we get a glimpse of everyday life in Athens about 320 B.C. The style is altogether unambitious; the several characteristics are strung together in a row of simple infinitive clauses depending on a *τοιούτος, οἷος, δεινός*. Theophrastus did not write these homely sketches for the public: they are only the materials for a book. But just for that very reason they bear the stamp of studies direct from life.

(1) 'Ο κόλαξ τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος ἅμα πορευόμενος εἰπεῖν 'ἐνθυμῇ ὥς ἀποβλέπουσι πρὸς σὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι; τοῦτο οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεται πλὴν σοί'. 'εὐδοκίμεις χθὲς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ' πλείονων γὰρ ἢ τριάκοντα ἀνθρώπων καθημένων, καὶ ἐμπεσόντος λόγου, 5

τίς εἴη βέλτιστος, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένους πάντας ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῆναι· καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λέγων  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου ἀφελεῖν κροκύδα· καὶ ἐάν τι πρὸς τὸ  
 τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ πνεύματος προσεनेχθῇ  
 5 ἄχυρον, καρφολογήσαι. καὶ ἐπιγελάσας δὲ εἰπεῖν· ὅρᾳς;  
 ὅτι δυεῖν σοι ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐντετύχηκα, πολιῶν ἔσχηκας  
 τὸν πώγωνα μεστόν, καίπερ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἔχων πρὸς  
 τὰ ἔτη μέλαιναν τὴν τρίχα· καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τι,  
 τοὺς ἄλλους σιωπᾶν κελεῦσαι, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ ἀκούον-  
 10 τος· καὶ ἐπισημήνασθαι δέ, εἰ παύσαιτο, ὁρθῶς·  
 καὶ σκώψαντι ψυχρῶς ἐπιγελάσαι τό τε ἱμάτιον ὧσαι  
 εἰς τὸ στόμα, ὥς δὴ οὐ δυνάμενος κατασχεῖν τὸν γέλωτα.  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐπιστῆναι κελεῦσαι, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς  
 παρέλθῃ. καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις μῆλα καὶ ἀπίους πριάμενος,  
 15 εἰσενέγκας δοῦναι, ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ φιλήσας δὲ εἰπεῖν  
 ὅτι· ἡμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς νεότητι· καὶ συνωνούμενος ἐπικρη-  
 πίδας τὸν πόδα εἶναι φῆσαι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδή-  
 ματος. καὶ πορευομένου πρὸς τινὰ τῶν φίλων, προδραμῶν  
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι· πρὸς σὲ ἔρχεται, καὶ ἀναστρέψας ὅτι  
 20 ὁ προσήγγελκα· καὶ τῶν ἐστιωμένων πρῶτος ἐπαινέσαι  
 τὸν οἶνον· καὶ παρακείμενος εἰπεῖν· ὥς μαλακῶς ἐσθίεις·  
 καὶ ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης φῆσαι, ὅτι· τοῦτ' ἄρα  
 ὥς χρηστόν ἐστι· καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι, μὴ ριγοῖ καὶ ἐπι-  
 βάλλεσθαι βούλεται· καὶ εἴ τι περιστελεῖ αὐτόν. καὶ  
 25 μὴν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ οὗς προσκύπτων διαψιθυρίζειν, καὶ  
 εἰς ἐκείνον ἀποβλέπων τοῖς ἄλλοις λαλεῖν. καὶ τοῦ  
 παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια  
 αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσαι. καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν φῆσαι εὖ ἡρχιτε-  
 κτονῆσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν εὖ πεφυτεῦσθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα  
 30 ὁμοίαν εἶναι.

(2) Ὁ δὲ ἀδολέσχης τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οἷος δὲ μὴ  
 γινώσκει, τούτῳ παρακαθεζόμενος πλησίον πρῶτον μὲν

τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς εἰπεῖν ἐγκώμιον· εἶτα δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδεν ἐνύπνιον, τοῦτο διηγήσασθαι· εἰθ' ὦν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διεξελθεῖν. εἶτα δὴ προχωροῦν-  
τος τοῦ πράγματος, λέγειν ὡς πολὺ πονηρότεροί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀρχαίων· καὶ ὡς ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν 5  
οἱ πυροὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ ἐπιδημοῦσι ξένοι· καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώιμον εἶναι· καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλεῖον, τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίω ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἀγρὸν εἰς νέωτα γεωργήσῃ· καὶ ὡς χαλεπὸν ἔστι τὸ ζῆν· καὶ ὡς Δάμιππος μυστηρίοις με- 10  
γίστην δᾶδα ἔστησε· καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ κίονες τοῦ Ὀιδείου· καὶ 'χθὲς ἡμεσά' καὶ τίς ἐστιν ἡμέρα σήμερον; καὶ ὡς Βοηδρομιῶνος μὲν ἔστι τὰ μυστήρια, Πυανοψιῶνος δὲ τὰ Ἀπατούρια, Ποσιδεῶνος δὲ τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια.  
καὶ ἂν ὑπομένη τις αὐτόν, μὴ ἀφίστασθαι. 15

(3) Ὁ δὲ ἀναίσθητος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος λογισάμενος ταῖς ψήφοις καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσας ἐρωτᾷ τὸν παρακαθήμενον 'τί γίνεται;' καὶ δίκην φεύγων καὶ ταύτην εἰσιέναι μέλλων ἐπιλαθόμενος εἰς ἀγρὸν πορεύεσθαι. καὶ θεωρῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μόνος καταλείπεσθαι καθεύδων. 20  
καὶ λαβὼν τι καὶ ἀποθεὶς αὐτός, τοῦτο ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι εὑρεῖν. καὶ ἀπαγγέλλοντός τινος αὐτῷ, ὅτι τετελεύτηκέ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, ἵνα παραγένηται, σκυθρωπάσας καὶ δακρύσας εἰπεῖν 'ἀγαθὴ τύχη.' δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀπολαμβάνων ἀργύριον ὀφειλόμενον 25  
μάρτυρας παραλαβεῖν· καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος μάχεσθαι τῷ παιδί, ὅτι σικύους οὐκ ἠγόρασε, καὶ τὰ παιδία ἑαυτοῦ παλαίειν ἀναγκάζων καὶ τροχάζειν εἰς κόπους ἐμβάλλειν, καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτὸς φακὴν ἔψων δις ἄλλας εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἐμβαλὼν ἄβρωτον ποιῆσαι. καὶ λέγοντός τινος 'πόσους 30  
οἶε κατὰ τὰς Ἡρίας πύλας ἐξενηνέχθαι νεκρούς;' πρὸς τοῦτο εἰπεῖν 'ὅσοι ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ γένοιντο.'

(4) Ὁ δὲ μικροφιλότιμος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος σπουδάσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δειπνήσαι· καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκείραι ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆναι δέ, ὅπως αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται· καὶ ἀποδιδούς μνᾶν ἀργυρίου, 5 καινὸν ποιῆσαι ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ κολοῖφ δὲ ἔνδον τρεφόμενῳ δεινὸς κλιμάκιον πρίασθαι καὶ ἀσπίδιον χαλκοῦν ποιῆσαι, ὃ ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιμακίου ὁ κολοῖδς πηδήσεται. καὶ βοῦν θύσας, τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι, στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας, 10 ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν, ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε. καὶ πομπεύσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα δοῦναι τῷ παιδί ἀπενεγκεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀναβαλόμενος δὲ θοῖμάτιον ἐν τοῖς μύωψιν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν. καὶ κυναρίου 15 δὲ Μελιταίου τελευτήσαντος, αὐτῷ στηλίδιον ποιήσας ἐπιγράψαι Κλάδος Μελιταῖος. καὶ ἀναθεὶς δάκτυλον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ, τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν στεφανοῦν ἀλείφειν ὁσημέραι. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ διοικήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν συμπρυτάνεων, ὅπως ἀπαγγελεῖ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἱερά· 20 καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ ἑστεφανωμένος παρελθὼν εἰπεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια, καὶ τὰ ἱερά καλά, καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθὰ· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας, ἀπὼν διηγῆσασθαι οἴκαδε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί, 25 ὥς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐημερεῖ.

(5) Ὁ δὲ ἀλαζὼν τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος ἐν τῷ Διαζεύγματι ἑστηκὼς διηγείσθαι ξένοις, ὥς πολλὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς δανειστικῆς διεξιέναι, ἡλίκη, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα εἵληφε καὶ 30 ἀπολώλεκε· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα πλεθρίζων πέμπειν τὸ παιδάριον ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, δραχμῆς αὐτῷ κειμένης. καὶ συνοδοιπόρου δὲ ἀπολαύσας, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δεινὸς λέγειν,

ὥς μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐστρατεύσατο, καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ εἶχε·  
καὶ ὅσα λιθοκόλλητα ποτήρια ἐκόμισε· καὶ περὶ τῶν  
τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὅτι βελτίους εἰσὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
Εὐρώπῃ, ἀμφισβητῆσαι, καὶ ταῦτα φῆσαι οὐδαμοῦ ἐκ  
τῆς πόλεως ἀποδεδημηκώς. καὶ γράμματα δὲ εἰπεῖν ὥς 5  
πάρεστι παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου τριττὰ δῆ, λέγοντα παραγί-  
νεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· καὶ διδομένης αὐτῷ  
ἐξαγωγῆς ξύλων ἀτελοῦς, ὅτι ἀπείρηται, ὅπως μὴδ' ὑφ'  
ἐνὸς συκοφαντηθῇ· 'περαιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν προσήκει  
Μακεδόσι.' καὶ ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ δὲ ὥς πλείω ἢ πέντε 10  
τάλαντα γένοιτο αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναλώματα διδόντι τοῖς  
ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν· ἀνανεύειν γὰρ οὐ δύνασθαι. καὶ  
ἀγνώστων δὲ παρακαθημένων, κελεῦσαι θείναι τὰς  
ψήφους ἕνα αὐτῶν καὶ ποσῶν κατὰ χιλίας καὶ κατὰ  
μυῶν καὶ προστιθεῖς πιθανῶς ἐκάστοις τούτων ὀνόματα, 15  
ποιῆσαι κδ' τάλαντα· καὶ τοῦτο φῆσαι εἰσενηνέχθαι εἰς  
ἐράνους αὐτῷ· καὶ τὰς τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐ τίθη-  
σιν, οὐδὲ τὰς λητουργίας ὅσας λελητούργηκε. καὶ  
προσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τοῖς πωλοῦσι  
προσποιήσασθαι ὦνητιᾶν· καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κλῖνας ἐλθὼν 20  
ἱματισμὸν ζητῆσαι εἰς δύο τάλαντα, καὶ τῷ παιδί  
μάχεσθαι, ὅτι τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔχων αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖ.  
καὶ ἐν μισθωτῇ οἰκίᾳ οἰκῶν φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν  
πατρώαν πρὸς τὸν μὴ εἰδότα· καὶ ὅτι μέλλει πωλεῖν  
αὐτήν, διὰ τὸ ἐλάττω εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ξενοδοχίας. 25

(6) Ὁ δὲ δειλὸς τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος πλέων τὰς ἄκρας  
φάσκειν ἡμιολίας εἶναι· καὶ κλυδωνίου γενομένου,  
ἐρωτᾶν, εἴ τις μὴ μεμύηται τῶν πλεόντων· καὶ τοῦ  
κυβερνήτου ἀνακύπτοντος πυνθάνεσθαι, εἰ μεσοπορεῖ,  
καὶ τί αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακαθή- 30  
μενον λέγειν, ὅτι φοβεῖται ἀπὸ ἐνυπνίου τινός· καὶ  
ἐκδὺς διδόναι τῷ παιδί τὸν χιτωνίσκον· καὶ δεῖσθαι

πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσάγειν αὐτόν. καὶ στρατευόμενος δὲ  
 τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐκβοηθοῦντος τοὺς δημότας προσκαλεῖν,  
 κελεύων πρὸς αὐτὸν στάντας πρῶτον περιδέσθαι, καὶ  
 λέγειν, ὡς ἔργον διαγνῶναί ἐστι, πότεροί εἰσιν οἱ πολέ-  
 5 μιοι· καὶ ἀκούων κραυγῆς καὶ ὄρων πίπτοντας εἰπεῖν  
 πρὸς τοὺς παρεστηκότας, ὅτι τὴν σπάθην λαβεῖν ὑπὸ  
 τῆς σπουδῆς ἐπελάθετο, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν·  
 καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας καὶ κελεύσας προσκοπεῖσθαι,  
 ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀποκρύψας αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὸ προσ-  
 10 κεφάλαιον, εἴτα διατρίβειν πολὺν χρόνον ὡς ζητῶν ἐν  
 τῇ σκηνῇ· καὶ ὄρων τραυματίαν τινὰ προσφερόμενον τῶν  
 φίλων, προσδραμὼν καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας, ὑπολαβὼν  
 φέρειν· καὶ τοῦτον θεραπεύειν καὶ περισπογγίζειν, καὶ  
 παρακαθήμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλκουσ τὰς μυίας σοβεῖν, καὶ  
 15 πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ τοῦ σαλ-  
 πιστοῦ δὲ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημῆναντος, καθήμενος ἐν τῇ  
 σκηνῇ εἰπεῖν ‘ἅπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας, οὐκ ἑάσει τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον ὑπνίου λαβεῖν πυκνὰ σημαίνων;’ καὶ αἵματος δὲ  
 ἀνάπλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου τραύματος ἐντυγχάνειν  
 20 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανιοῦσι καὶ διηγείσθαι ὡς κιν-  
 δυνεύσας ‘ἕνα σέσωκα τῶν φίλων·’ καὶ εἰσάγειν πρὸς  
 τὸν κατακείμενον σκεψομένους τοὺς δημότας καὶ φυ-  
 λέτας· καὶ τούτων ἅμα ἐκάστῳ διηγείσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸς  
 αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐκόμισεν.

25 (7) ‘Ὁ δὲ αἰσχροκερδὴς τοιοῦτος οἶος ἐστιῶν ἄρτους  
 ἱκανοὺς μὴ παραθεῖναι· καὶ δανείσασθαι παρὰ ξένου παρ’  
 αὐτῷ καταλύοντος· καὶ διανέμων μερίδας, φῆσαι, δίκαιον  
 εἶναι δέμοιρον τῷ διανέμοντι δίδοσθαι, καὶ εὐθύς αὐτῷ  
 νεῖμαι. καὶ οἶνοπωλῶν, κεκραμένον τὸν οἶνον τῷ φίλῳ  
 30 ἀποδόσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τηνικαῦτα πορεύεσθαι ἄγων  
 τοὺς νείεις, ἡνίκα προῖκα ἀφιασιν οἱ θεατρῶναι. καὶ  
 ἀποδημῶν δημοσίᾳ, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφόδιον οἶκοι



καταλιπεῖν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν δανείζεσθαι· καὶ τῷ ἀκολούθῳ μείζον φορτίον ἐπιθεῖναι ἢ δύναται φέρειν καὶ ἐλάχιστα ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ἄλλων παρέχειν· καὶ ξενίων μέρος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπαιτήσας ἀποδόσθαι. καὶ ἀλειφόμενος ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ εἶπας· σαπρὸν γε τὸ 5 ἔλαιον ἐπρίω, παιδάριον, τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ ἀλείφεσθαι. καὶ τῶν εὐρισκομένων χαλκῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν δεινὸς ἀπαιτῆσαι τὸ μέρος, κοινὸν εἶναι φήσας τὸν Ἑρμῆν. καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι καὶ χρησάμενος παρὰ γνωρίμου ἐφελκύσαι πλείους ἡμέρας, ἕως ἂν ἀπαιτηθῇ. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Φειδωνεῖῳ μέτρῳ τὸν πύνδακα ἐγκεκρουμένῳ μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφόδρα ἀποψῶν. ὑποπρίασθαι φίλον δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου τι ὠνεῖσθαι, εἶτα λαβὼν ἀποδόσθαι. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ χρέος ἀποδιδούς τριάκοντα μνῶν, ἔλαττον 15 τέτρασι δραχμαῖς ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ τῶν νύων δὲ μὴ πορευομένων εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον διὰ ἀρρωστίαν, ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ μισθοῦ κατὰ λόγον· καὶ τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα μῆνα ὅλον μὴ πέμπειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μαθήματα διὰ τὸ θέας εἶναι πολλάς, ἵνα μὴ τὸν μισθὸν ἐκτίνη. καὶ παρὰ 20 παιδὸς κομιζόμενος ἀποφοράν, τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὴν ἐπικαταλλαγὴν προσαπαιτεῖν· καὶ λογισμὸν δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τοῦ χειρίζοντος. καὶ φράτορας ἐστιῶν, αἰτεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὄψον· τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἡμίση τῶν ραφανίδων 25 ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἵνα οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες μὴ λάβωσι. συναποδημῶν δὲ μετὰ γνωρίμων χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐκείνων παισί, τὸν δ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕξω μισθῶσαι, καὶ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὸν μισθόν. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ συναγόντων παρ' αὐτῷ, ὑποθεῖναι τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διδομένων ξύλων καὶ φακῶν 30 καὶ ὄξους καὶ ἁλῶν καὶ ἐλαίου τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον. καὶ γαμούντος τινος τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐκδιδομένου θυγατέρα, πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἀποδημήσαι, ἵνα μὴ προπέμψῃ προσφοράν.

## II

## THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

AESCHYLUS, *Persae*, 290-477.

AESCHYLUS produced his tragedy, the *Persae*, in the spring of 472 B.C. at Athens, before the people who had fought in the battle, in which he had himself taken part.

On the stage stands the mother of Xerxes, widow of Darius. She is an imaginary figure, not even having the name of the historical Queen Atossa. Near her stands the Chorus, the body of trusty elders, Περσῶν τὰ πιστά. A messenger has arrived and has announced the defeat in general terms—στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὄλωλε βαρβάρων. The Chorus has replied with some impassioned outbursts of grief. Then the queen begins.

## ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη  
κακοῖς· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἤδε συμφορά,  
τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη.  
ὁμως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰς βροτοῖς φέρειν  
5 θεῶν διδόντων· πᾶν δ' ἀναπτύξας πάθος  
λέξον καταστάς, κεῖ στένεις κακοῖς ὁμως,  
τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν  
τῶν ἀρχελάων, ὅστ' ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ  
ταχθεὶς ἀνανδρον τάξιν ἡρήμου θανών.

## ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

- 10 Ξέρξης μὲν αὐτὸς ζῇ τε καὶ βλέπει φάος.  
Βασ. ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα  
καὶ λευκὸν ἡμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου.  
Αγγ. Ἀρτεμβάρης δέ, μυρίας ἵππου βραβεύς,  
στύφλους παρ' ἀκτὰς θείνεται Σιληνιῶν·  
15 χὼ χιλίαρχος Δαδάκης πληγῇ δορὸς  
πήδημα κοῦφον ἐκ νεὼς ἀφήλατο·

Τενάγων τ', ἀριστεὺς Βακτρίων ἰθαγενής,  
 θαλασσόπληκτον νῆσον Αἴαντος σποδεῖ.  
 Δίλαιος, Ἀρσάμης τε ἀργήστης τρίτος,  
 οἷδ' ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμονα  
 νικώμενοι κύριссон ἰσχυρὰν χθόνα·  
 πηγαῖς τε Νείλου γειτονῶν Αἰγυπτίου  
 Ἀρκεύς, Ἀδεύης, καὶ φερεσσακῆς τρίτος  
 Φαρνοῦχος, οἶδε ναὺς ἐκ μιᾶς πέσον.  
 Χρυσεὺς Μάταλλος μυριόνταρχος θανών,

5

ἵππου μελαίνης ἡγεμὼν τρισμυρίας,  
 πυρσὴν ζαπληθῇ δάσκιον γενειάδα  
 ἔτεγγ', ἀμείβων χρώτα πορφυρᾷ βαφῇ.  
 καὶ Μᾶγος Ἀραβος Ἀρτάμης τε Βάκτριος  
 σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.

10

Ἀμιστρὶς Ἀμφιστρεὺς τε, πολύπονον δόρυ  
 νομῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος, Σάρδεσιν  
 πένθος παρασχών, Σεισάμης θ' ὁ Μύσιος,  
 Θάρυβίς τε, πεντήκοντα πεντάκισ νεῶν  
 ταγός, γένος Δυρναῖος, εὐειδῆς ἀνὴρ,  
 κεῖται θανὼν δαίλαιος οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς·

15

20

Συέννεσις τε, πρῶτος εἰς εὐψυχίαν,  
 Κιλικῶν ἀπαρχος, εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον  
 ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο.  
 τόσον μὲν ἀρχόντων ὑπεμνήσθην πέρι·  
 πολλῶν παρόντων δ' ὀλίγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά.

25

Βασ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν ὑψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε,  
 αἴσχη τε Πέρσαις καὶ λιγέα κωκύματα.  
 ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν,  
 πόσον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν νεῶν Ἑλληνίδων,  
 ὥστ' ἀξιῶσαι Περσικῷ στρατεύματι  
 μάχην συνάψαι ναῖτοισιν ἐμβολαῖς;

30

Αγγ. πλήθους μὲν ἂν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἑκατι βάρβαρον

- ναυσὶν κρατῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἕλλησιν μὲν ἦν  
 ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα  
 ναῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἑκκριτος·  
 Ξέρξης δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν  
 5 ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέροκοι τάχει  
 ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἐπτά θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.  
 μή σοι δοκοῦμεν τῇδε λειφθῆναι μάχῃ;  
 ἀλλ' ὧδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν,  
 τάλαντα βρίσας οὐκ ἰσορρόπῃ τύχῃ.  
 10 θεοὶ πόλιν σφύζουσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς.  
 Βασ. ἐτ' ἂρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις;  
 Αγγ. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἔρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.  
 Βασ. ἀρχὴ δὲ ναυσὶ συμβολῆς τίς ἦν φράσον·  
 τίνες κατήρξαν, πότερον Ἕλληνες, μάχης,  
 15 ἢ παῖς ἐμός, πλήθει καταυχήσας νεῶν;  
 Αγγ. ἦρξεν μὲν, ὦ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ  
 φανείς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.  
 ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλληρ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ  
 ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σῶ Ξέρξης τάδε,  
 20 ὥς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἵζεται κνέφας,  
 Ἕλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν  
 ναῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε  
 δρασμῶ κρυφαίῳ βίοντον ἐκωσοίατο.  
 δ' δ' εὐθύς ὥς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον  
 25 Ἕλληνος ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,  
 πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχους λόγον,  
 εὐτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα  
 λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ,  
 τάξαι νεῶν στῖφος μὲν ἐν στοίχοις τρισίν,  
 30 ἑκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους,  
 ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ·  
 ὥς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἕλληνες κακόν,  
 ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὐρόντες τινά,

πᾶσι στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον.  
 τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε κάρθ' ὑπ' εὐθύμου φρενός·  
 οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο.  
 οἳ δ' οὐκ ἀκόσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ  
 δειπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ 5  
 τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο  
 καὶ νύξ ἐπῆει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἀναξ  
 ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει, πᾶς δ' ὄπλων ἐπιστάτης.  
 τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὸς μακρᾶς, 10  
 πλέουσι δ' ὥς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος.  
 καὶ πάννυχτοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν  
 ναῶν ἀνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεῶν.  
 καὶ νύξ ἐχώρει, κού μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς  
 κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο· 15  
 ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα  
 πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγῆς ἰδεῖν,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἤχεϊ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα·  
 μολπηδὸν εὐφήμησαν, ὄρθιον δ' ἄμα  
 ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας 20  
 ἠχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν  
 γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φυγῇ  
 παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἑλληνες τότε,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμώντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει·  
 σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν. 25  
 εὐθύς δὲ κώπης ροθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ  
 ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύματος,  
 θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.  
 τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας  
 ἡγεῖτο κόσμῳ, δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος 30  
 ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν  
 πολλὰν βοήν, ὧ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,  
 ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ

- παῖδας γυναῖκας θεῶν τε πατρῶων ἔδη  
 θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών·  
 καὶ μὴν παρ' ἡμῶν Περσίδος γλώσσης ρόθος  
 ὑπηντίαζε, κούκέτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή.  
 5 εὐθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νηϊ χαλκῇρη στόλον  
 ἔπαισεν· ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ  
 ναῦς, κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεῶς  
 κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἠϋθυνεν δόρυ.  
 τὰ πρῶτα μέν νυν ρεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ  
 10 ἀντεῖχεν· ὥς δὲ πλήθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν  
 ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὐτις ἀλλήλοις παρῆν,  
 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλοις χαλκοστόμοις  
 παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,  
 Ἑλληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως  
 15 κύκλω πέριξ ἔθεινον, ὑπτιούτο δὲ  
 σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν,  
 ναυαγίων ἀνθοῦσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν·  
 ἄκται δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθουν.  
 φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμφ' πᾶσα ναῦς ἠρέσσετο,  
 20 ὅσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος·  
 τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύννους ἢ τιν' ἰχθύων βόλον  
 ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασιν τ' ἐρειπίων  
 ἔπαιον ἐρράχιζον, οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ  
 κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα,  
 25 ἕως κελαινὸν νυκτὸς ὄμμ' ἀφείλετο.  
 κακῶν δὲ πλήθος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δέκ' ἤματα  
 στοιχηγοροίην, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλήσαιμί σοι.  
 εὖ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδάμ' ἡμέρα μιᾷ  
 πλήθος τοσουντάριθμον ἀνθρώπων θανεῖν.  
 30 Βασ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα  
 Πέρσαις τε καὶ πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει.  
 Αγγ. εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδέπω μεσοῦν κακόν·  
 τοιάδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦλθε συμφορὰ πάθους,

ὥς τοῖσδε καὶ δις ἀντισηκῶσαι ῥοπή.

Βασ. καὶ τίς γένοιτ' ἂν τῇσδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίων τύχη;  
λέξον τίν' αὖ φῆς τήνδε συμφορὰν στρατῶ  
ἐλθεῖν κακῶν ῥέπουσαν ἐς τὰ μᾶσσονα.

Αγγ. Περσῶν ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν, 5  
ψυχὴν τ' ἄριστοι κευγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς,  
αὐτῷ τ' ἀνακτι πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις αἰεί,  
τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχροῦς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.

Βασ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα συμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι.  
ποιῶ μόρῳ δὲ τούσδε φῆς ὀλωλέναι; 10

Αγγ. νῆσός τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων  
βαιά, δύσορμος ναυσίν, ἣν ὁ φιλόχορος  
Πὰν ἐμβατεύει, ποντίας ἀκτῆς ἔπι.  
ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ', ὅπως, ὅταν νεῶν  
φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσφῶζοῖατο, 15  
κτείνουεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν,

φίλους δ' ὑπεκσῶζοιεν ἐναλίων πόρων·  
κακῶς τὸ μέλλον ἱστορῶν. ὥς γὰρ θεὸς  
ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἑλλησιν μάχης,

αὐθημερὸν φάρξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας 20  
ὄπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρῳσκον· ἀμφὶ δὲ  
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὥστ' ἀμηχανεῖν

ὅποι τράποιντο. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ χερῶν  
πέτρουσιν ἡράσσοντο, τοξικῆς τ' ἀπὸ  
θώμιγγος ἰοὶ προσπίτνοντες ὄλλυσαν, 25

τέλος δ' ἐφορμηθέντες ἐξ ἐνὸς ῥόθου  
παίουσι, κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήνων μέλη,  
ἕως ἀπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνώμωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος·  
ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῇ στρατοῦ, 30  
ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἀλός·  
ρήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγύ,  
περὶ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,

ἴησ' ἀκόσμφ' ξὺν φυγῇ. τοιάνδε σοι  
πρὸς τῇ πάροιθε συμφορὰν πάρα στένειν.

Βασ. ὦ στυγνὲ δαίμον, ὡς ἄρ' ἔψευσας φρενῶν  
Πέρσας· πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν  
5 κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἡῦρε, κοῦκ ἀπήρκεσαν  
οὐδ' πρόσθε Μαραθὼν βαρβάρων ἀπώλεσεν·  
ὦν ἀντίποινα παῖς ἐμὸς πράξειν δοκῶν  
τοσόνδε πλῆθος πημάτων ἐπέσπασεν.

### III

## THEORY OF VACUUM

FROM HERO OF ALEXANDRIA.

IT seems that Hero lived in the first century of the Christian era, and wrote on several widely different topics connected with theoretical Physics and Mechanics, always with an eye to the practical needs of engineers. His books maintained their place as standard works, though a large portion exists now only in Arabic and mediaeval translations. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the study of Hero was very wide-spread. It is through him that Greece made it possible for the modern world to lay the foundation of the new Physics and Mechanics; Hero busied himself with the construction of apparatus and the true method of investigation by experiment. He is deeply indebted to earlier works, and not seldom we can trace his instruments back to greater mechanicians of Alexandria, or to Archimedes. We are especially indebted to him for the theoretical explanations set out in our selection. For he gives here, in a literary form, the work of a highly important teacher, Strato of Lampsacus—Strato who succeeded Theophrastus as head of the school founded by Aristotle at Athens, the Peripatos, and earned for himself the title *φυσικός*. We see him here upholding the claim of experimental proof (the *διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐνέργεια* or *αἰσθητικὴ ἀπόδειξις*) against the theoretical speculation on which too often philosophy places excessive reliance. The opinion that he here defends long possessed



great authority in the physical doctrine of modern thinkers, just as long as they depended on Hero; it is generally denoted by the catchword *horror vacui*. Strato's mind was running on something rather different when he dealt with it. As an Aristotelian he had received from the master the denial of the existence of vacuum. On the other hand, the materialistic philosophy of Democritus took for granted the evidence of the void, and acknowledged only atoms besides; and this view had been revived, and was strongly supported in Strato's time, through Epicurus. To Strato it was no doubt familiar from his childhood, since Epicurus had followers in Lampsacus, Strato's native town, and often stayed there himself. Strato, who also sought for an essentially materialistic explanation of the world, endeavoured to find a middle path between the theories of Aristotle and Epicurus; he denied the existence of a *continuous* void (ἄθροον κενόν) in nature—in other words he rejected the whole hypothesis of Democritus—but still he maintained that in all things minute empty spaces existed between the minute particles of matter. Into the deep significance of this most important theory we cannot enter; the following piece will of itself suffice to show the truly scientific character of his demonstration.

Τῆς πνευματικῆς πραγματείας σπουδῆς ἡξιωμένης πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ μηχανικῶν, τῶν μὲν λογικῶς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἀποδεδωκότων, τῶν δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐνεργείας, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν νομίζομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ παραδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν 5 ἀρχαίων εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ ἃ ἡμεῖς δὲ προσευρήκαμεν ἐκθέσθαι. οὕτως γὰρ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι βουλομένους ὠφελεῖσθαι συμβήσεται. πρὸ δὲ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων πρῶτον περὶ κενοῦ διαληπτέον. οἳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ καθόλου μηδὲν 10 εἶναι κενὸν διατείνονται, οἳ δὲ ἄθροον μὲν κατὰ φύσιν μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, παρεσπαρμένον δὲ κατὰ μικρὰ μόρια τῷ ἀέρι καὶ τῷ ὑγρῷ καὶ τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν· οἷς μάλιστα συμφέρεσθαι προσήκει· ἐκ γὰρ

τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν πιπτόντων ἐν  
 τοῖς ἐξῆς δείκνυται τοῦτο συμβαίνειν· ὄντως μέντοι τὰ  
 ἀγγεῖα τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς κενὰ οὐκ ἔστιν,  
 ὥς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, κενά, ἀέρος δὲ πλήρη. ὁ δὲ ἀήρ  
 5 ἔστιν, ὥς τοῖς περὶ φύσεως πραγματευσαμένοις ἀρέσκει,  
 ἐκ λεπτῶν καὶ μικρομερῶν σωμάτων συνεστηκὸς ἀφα-  
 νῶν ἡμῖν ὄντων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. ἐὰν γοῦν εἰς τὸ  
 δοκοῦν ἀγγεῖον κενὸν ὑπάρχειν ἐγχείη τις ὕδωρ, καθ'  
 ὅσον ἂν πληθὸς τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἐμπίπτῃ,  
 10 κατὰ τοσοῦτον πληθὸς ἀήρ ἐκχωρήσει. κατανοήσῃ δ'  
 ἂν τις τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου· ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς ὕδωρ  
 καταστρέψας ἀγγεῖον τὸ δοκοῦν εἶναι κενὸν πίεζῃς εἰς  
 τὸ κάτω ἀκλινὲς διαφυλάσσων, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται τὸ  
 ὕδωρ εἰς αὐτό, καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸ κρύψῃς· ὥστε δῆλον  
 15 εἶναι, ὅτι σῶμα ὑπάρχων ὁ ἀήρ οὐκ ἐᾷ παρεισελθεῖν τὸ  
 ὕδωρ διὰ τὸ πεπληρωκέναι πάντα τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀγγεῖῳ  
 τόπον. ἐὰν γοῦν τρυπήσῃ τις τὸν πυθμένα τοῦ ἀγ-  
 γείου, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰς αὐτὸ εἰσελεύ-  
 σεται, ὁ δὲ ἀήρ διὰ τοῦ τρυπήματος ἐξελεύσεται.  
 20 πάλιν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τρυπήσαι τὸν πυθμένα ἐάν τις ὀρθὸν  
 ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἐπάρῃ, ἀνατρέψας ὀψεται  
 πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀγγείου ἐπιφάνειαν καθαρὰν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ὑγροῦ, καθάπερ ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τεθῆναι. διὸ δὴ  
 ὑποληπτέον εἶναι σῶμα τὸν ἀέρα. γίνεται δὲ πνεῦμα  
 25 κινηθεῖς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερόν ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα ἢ κινούμενος  
 ἀήρ. ἐὰν γοῦν τετρυπημένου τοῦ ἀγγείου κατὰ τὸν πυ-  
 θμένα καὶ εἰσπίπτοντος τοῦ ὕδατος παραθῇ τις τῷ τρυπή-  
 ματι τὴν χεῖρα, αἰσθήσεται τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκπίπτον ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἀγγείου· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἢ ὁ ἐκκρουόμενος  
 30 ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀήρ. οὐχ ὑποληπτέον οὖν ἐν τοῖς οὐσι  
 κενοῦ τινα φύσιν ἀθρόαν αὐτὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρχειν,  
 παρеспαρμένην δὲ κατὰ μικρὰ μόρια τῷ τε ἀέρι καὶ  
 τῷ ὑγρῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν. τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος

σώματα συνενερίδει μὲν πρὸς ἄλληλα, οὐ κατὰ πᾶν δὲ μέρος ἐφαρμόζει, ἀλλ' ἔχει τινὰ διαστήματα μεταξὺ κενὰ καθάπερ ἡ ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ψάμμος. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ψάμμου μόρια τοῖς τοῦ ἀέρος σώμασιν ἀποικειοῦσθαι ὑποληπτέον, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν 5 τῆς ψάμμου μορίων τοῖς μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀέρος κενοῖς· διὸ καὶ πιεῖσθαι τὸν ἀέρα συμβαίνει ἐκ βίας τινὸς προσελθούσης καὶ συνιζάνειν εἰς τὰς τῶν κενῶν χώρας, παρὰ φύσιν τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς ἄλληλα θλιβομένων· ἀνέσεως δὲ γενομένης πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἀποκαθίσταται 10 τῇ τῶν σωμάτων εὐτονίᾳ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐάν τινος βίας γενομένης ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστῇ τὰ τοῦ ἀέρος σώματα καὶ μείζων κενὸς παρὰ φύσιν γένηται τόπος, πάλιν πρὸς ἄλληλα συντρέχει· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ κενοῦ ταχεῖαν γίνεσθαι τὴν φορὰν τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει, μηδενὸς ἀνθισταμένου 15 μηδὲ ἀντικρούοντος, ἕως ἂν ἀλλήλοις προσερείσῃ τὰ σώματα. ἐὰν γοῦν ἀγγεῖον λαβὼν τις κουφότατον καὶ σύστομον, προσθεῖς τῷ στόματι ἐκμυζήσῃ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀφῇ, ἐκκρεμασθήσεται ἐκ τῶν χειλέων τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ἐπισπώμενου τοῦ κενοῦ τὴν σάρκα πρὸς τὸ ἀναπληρωθῆναι 20 τὸν κενωθέντα τόπον· ὥστε ἐκ τούτου φανερόν γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἄθρους κενὸς ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῷ ἀγγεῖῳ τόπος. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν· τὰ γὰρ ἰατρικὰ ῥῆα, ὑέλινα ὄντα καὶ σύστομα, ὅταν βούλωνται πληρῶσαι ὑγροῦ, ἐκμυζήσαντες τῷ στόματι τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀέρα καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸ 25 στόμιον αὐτῶν τῷ δακτύλῳ καταστρέφουσιν εἰς τὸ ὑγρόν, καὶ ἀνεθέντος τοῦ δακτύλου ἀνασπᾶται εἰς τὸν κενωθέντα τόπον τὸ ὕδωρ, καίτοι παρὰ φύσιν τῆς φορᾶς ἄνω γενομένης τῷ ὑγρῷ.

Τοῖς οὖν φαμένοις τὸ καθόλου μηδὲν εἶναι κενὸν 30 ἐκποιεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα πολλὰ εὐρίσκειν ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ τάχα φαίνεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πιθανωτέρους μηδεμιᾶς παρακειμένης αἰσθητικῆς ἀποδείξεως· ἐὰν μέντοι δειχθῇ

ἐπὶ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν πιπτόντων,  
 ὅτι κενὸν ἄθρουν ἔστιν, παρὰ φύσιν μέντοι γινόμενον,  
 καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστι μὲν κενόν, κατὰ λεπτὰ δὲ παρε-  
 σπαρμένον, καὶ ὅτι κατὰ πῖλῃσιν τὰ σώματα ἀναπληροῖ  
 5 τὰ παρσπαρμένα κενά, οὐδεμίαν οὐκέτι παρέκδυσιν  
 ἔξουσιν οἱ τοὺς πιθανοὺς τῶν λόγων περὶ τούτων προ-  
 φερόμενοι. κατασκευάζεται γὰρ σφαῖρα πάχος ἔχουσα  
 τοῦ ἐλάσματος ὥστε μὴ εὐθλαστος εἶναι, χωροῦσα ὅσον  
 κοτύλας ἡ. στεγνῆς δὲ οὐσης αὐτῆς πάντοθεν, τρυπή-  
 10 σαντα δεῖ σίφωνα καθεῖναι χαλκοῦν, τουτέστι σωλῆνα  
 λεπτόν, μὴ ψαύοντα τοῦ κατὰ διάμετρον τόπου τοῦ  
 τετρυπημένου σημείου, ὅπως ὕδατι διάρρυσις ὑπάρχη,  
 τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐκτὸς ὑπερέχειν τῆς σφαίρας  
 ὅσον δακτύλους τρεῖς· τὴν δὲ τοῦ τρυπήματος περιοχὴν,  
 15 δι' οὗ καθιέται ὁ σίφων, στεγνοῦν δεῖ κασσιτέρῳ προσ-  
 λαμβάνοντα πρὸς τε τὸν σίφωνα καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς τῆς  
 σφαίρας ἐπιφάνειαν, ὥστε ὅταν βουλώμεθα τῷ στόματι  
 διὰ τοῦ σίφωνος ἐμφυσᾶν, κατὰ μηδένᾳ τρόπον τὸ  
 πνεῦμα τῆς σφαίρας διεκπίπτειν. σκοπῶμεν δὴ τὰ  
 20 συμβαίνοντα· ὑπάρχοντος γὰρ ἀέρος ἐν αὐτῇ, καθάπερ  
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις πᾶσι τοῖς λεγομένοις  
 κenoῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἀέρος πεπληρωκόςτος πάντα τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τόπον καὶ προσερηρισμένου κατὰ συνέχειαν πρὸς τὴν  
 τοῦ τεύχους περιοχὴν καὶ μηδενὸς κενού, καθάπερ  
 25 οἴονται, τὸ παράπαν ὑπάρχοντος τόπου, οὐτ' ἂν ὕδωρ  
 εἰσκρῖναι δυνηθείημεν οὔτε ἄλλον ἀέρα, μὴ ὑποχωρή-  
 σαντος τοῦ πρότερον ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπάρχοντος ἀέρος. καὶ  
 ἐὰν μετὰ πολλῆς βίας τὴν εἰσκρῖσιν ποιῶμεθα, πρότερον  
 διαρραγήσεται τὸ τεῦχος ἢ ἐπιδέξεται τι, πλήρες  
 30 ὑπάρχον· καὶ μὴν ἐάν τις ἐθέλῃ τὸν σίφωνα λαβὼν εἰς  
 τὸ στόμα ἐμφυσᾶν εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν, πολὺ προσεῖσκρινεῖ  
 πνεῦμα, μὴ ὑποχωρήσαντος τοῦ προὑπάρχοντος ἐν αὐτῇ  
 ἀέρος· τούτου δὲ ἀεὶ συμβαίνοντος, σαφῶς δείκνυται

συστολή γινομένη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ σφαίρα  
 σωμάτων εἰς τὰ παρεμπεπλεγμένα κενά. παρὰ φύσιν  
 δὲ ἡ συστολή γίνεται διὰ τὴν τῆς εἰσκρίσεως βίαν.  
 ἐάν τις οὖν ἐμφυσήσας καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα προσα-  
 γαγὼν τὴν χεῖρα συντόμως ἐπιπωμάσῃ τῷ δακτύλῳ 5  
 τὸν σίφωνα, μενεῖ πάντα τὸν χρόνον συνεσφιγμένος  
 ὁ ἀήρ ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀναπωμάσῃ, πάλιν  
 ἐκτὸς ὁρμήσει μετὰ τε ψόφου καὶ βίας πολλῆς ὁ  
 προσεισκριθεὶς ἀήρ διὰ τὸ ἐκκρούεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 προϋπάρχοντος ἀέρος διαστολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὴν εὐτονίαν 10  
 γινομένην. πάλιν οὖν ἐάν τις βούληται τὸν ὑπάρχοντα  
 ἀέρα ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ ἐξέλκειν τῷ στόματι διὰ τοῦ  
 σίφωνος, πολὺ πλήθος ἐπακολουθήσει, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης  
 οὐσίας εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν ἀντικαταλλασσομένης, καθάπερ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥοῦ προεῖρηται· ὥστε διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τελείως 15  
 δείκνυσθαι μεγάλην ἄθροισιν κενοῦ γινομένην ἐν τῇ  
 σφαίρᾳ· φανερόν οὖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν  
 τοῦ ἀέρος σώμασι παρέσπαρταί τινα μεταξὺ κενά, βίας  
 δέ τινος προσελθούσης συνίξουσιν πάσχει παρὰ φύσιν  
 εἰς τὰ κενά. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἄθρουν κενὸν γίνεται παρὰ 20  
 φύσιν, δέδεικται διὰ τε τοῦ προσφερομένου τῷ στόματι  
 κούφου ἀγγείου καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἱατρικοῦ ῥοῦ. περὶ μὲν  
 οὖν τῆς τοῦ κενοῦ φύσεως καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν οὐσῶν  
 ἀποδείξεις, ἱκανὰς εἶναι καὶ τὰς εἰρημένας νομίζομεν·  
 καὶ γὰρ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐποίησά- 25  
 μεθα. ἐπὶ πάντων τοίνυν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πᾶν μὲν σῶμα  
 ἐκ λεπτομερῶν συνέστηκεν σωμάτων, ὧν μεταξύ ἐστι  
 παρεσπαρμένα κενὰ ἐλάττονα τῶν μορίων· διὸ καὶ  
 καταχρηστικῶς μηδὲν εἶναι κενὸν λέγομεν, βίας τινὸς  
 μὴ παρεισελθούσης, ἀλλὰ πάντα πλήρη εἶναι ἥτοι 30  
 ἀέρος ἢ ὑγροῦ ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς οὐσίας· καθ' ὅποσον δ' ἂν  
 τι τούτων ἐκχωρῇ, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἕτερον ἐπακολουθοῦν  
 τὸν κενούμενον ἀναπληροῦ τόπον.

# NOTES

## PART I

### I

#### STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF AESOP

PAGE 1, l. 3. φακή: properly collective of φακός, 'lentils' as well as 'lentil porridge.'

7. λιτῶς, from λιτός: supply συναριστήσουσι. The construction is first indirect after ὥς, then direct, then again indirect in accus. and infin.: the later prose often drifts about in this way.

The principal dish is regarded as the whole of the meal; 'we shall lunch on.'

PAGE 2, l. 1. ποικιλία, 'variety.'

3. εἰκεῖν, 'accept.'

4. ἀπό marks the immediate sequence in point of time, as in ἀπὸ δείπνου περιπατεῖν, rise from supper and take a walk. So here 'let us have the drink' usually taken directly after the bath. To get the joke in, you might say, 'Now, Aesop, from the bath to the cup!'

14. ὅσα ἐφεξῆς (ἐστί), 'whatever comes next.'

16. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως (δοῦλον ἐπιδίμην), 'impossible!'

ἀνακλίνεσθαι, at table; late for καταλίνεσθαι.

18. δοῖδυξ, 'ladle.'

25. μάλιστα, 'certainly.' ἐνικῶς, 'in the singular.' πληθυντικῶς, 'in the plural.'

33. τύψαι, late form of the aorist, the Attic in use being πατάξαι, and here in a slang sense, 'to give him one,' i.e. humiliate him.

PAGE 3, l. 1. ἀσχολεῖσθαι περί, 'to be busy about.'

8. συνῆψε, imperf. of συν-έψω, 'boil together with.'

17. ἔχειν, with adverb, 'to behave oneself.' We say 'took it very hard, was very annoyed.'

20. 'that what is reckoned in by addition and subtraction to an equivalent amount is no false reckoning'; i.e. if I both add and subtract the same amount from a number, the total remains the same. ποσόν belongs to the *second* τό. Aesop again uses school phrases, as in ἐνικῶς and πληθυντικῶς. By οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμάρτημα he implies 'I haven't done anything wrong.'

25. κελεύειν with dat. is not a classical construction.

26. ἰδιώτης is properly a private person, as distinguished from a soldier or official; the man in the street, as distinct from the learned. So here; but the word as here used implies a slight, because it suggests *want* of knowledge, and this implied slight led ultimately to the meaning of our word 'idiot.'

27. ἀλλ' ἤ, 'but (only).'

28. Aesop sits in the porter's lodge. The people 'shake' the knocker, giving a rat-tat on the closed door. Not unnaturally they suppose Aesop is calling them dogs.

PAGE 4, l. 3. δοκιμάσας, 'finding.'

6. παραλελογίσθαι, impersonal.

8. διατριβή, like σχολή, came to mean the *place* where people stayed and conversed, but was applied only to a philosopher's school.

15. τοῦ (τίνος) χάριν, 'for what purpose.'

23. εἰσάγειν, 'bring in, introduce.'

PAGE 5, l. 2. τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, 'henceforward, for the future.'

5. συνοίσειν, *oratio obliqua*, 'it would be useful.'

7. γνώμην διδόναι, 'propose,' constructed like γνῶναι.

εἰς, 'for, so as to (pay).'

9. εἰδέναι, 'perceive.'

10. Hesiod had written of the Two Ways: the broad that leads to wickedness and calamity, and the narrow, the path of virtue and happiness. Aesop recasts the allegory.

17. ἀναφέρειν: properly = *referre*, refer a matter to another. Being often used where an *inferior* ἀναφέρει τι to a *superior*, it is a suitable word for the *declaration* of a minister to a king.

18. ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαβεῖν = ὑποχείριον ποιεῖσθαι, 'bring into subjection.'

24. ἔκδοτον αἰτεῖν τινα, 'to demand the surrender of.'

PAGE 6, l. 7. συν-απο-πλεῖν: see ἀποπλέω.

9. ἐπίπροσθεν, preposition with genitive.

11. ἐμποδῶν μοι γέγονε = ἐκώλυσέ με.

16. ἀποκτίννυμι = ἀποκτείνω: in classical Greek it was a word used in the ritual of sacrifices.

19. ὑμῆν, 'membrane,' meaning here 'vocal chord.'

24. ἐν εὐτελείᾳ σώματος, 'with a mean body.'

## II

### PERICLES

PAGE 8, l. 2. πρὸς χάριν, 'so as to please them.' The 'spectacles' meant are musical and gymnastic competitions (ἀγῶνες): ἐστίασις is the word for the feasts of a tribe (φυλή) or parish (δήμος), and, sometimes, of the whole state. The flesh of the victims was

distributed among those entitled to a share; and it was only on such occasions that the common people tasted meat.

3. *Processions* took place at most festivals; e.g. the Panathenaic shown on the Parthenon Sculptures. δια-παιδαγωγεῖν, 'entertain.'

5. The complement of a trireme was 200 men. The period of service dated is the maximum possible, since the sea was considered open for only eight months in the year.

8. The distribution of land in the Chersonese and Naxos occurred in 452 B.C.; about Andros we do not know. Thurii was founded as an Athenian colony in 445; Amphipolis, in the neighbourhood of which the Bisaltae lived, in 438. The list of places distributed among 'cleruchs' is not exhaustive; and the most important, Euboea, is omitted.

14. ἐπ-αν-ορθοῦσθαι, lit. 'to straighten again something that was bent,' so 'to correct, repair.'

15. τοῦ μή expresses a purpose.

PAGE 9, l. 1. This is Plutarch's own opinion. He refreshes his belief in the greatness of the past—which might well seem incredible amid the decay of Greece in his own days—by a glance at the splendid Athens of Pericles, which then stood almost intact. He draws on two speeches contained in some historical work—one directed against Pericles, the other attributed to him. Plutarch quotes actual words, as is shown by ἡμᾶς (l. 15), which looks odd here. No doubt the two speeches were fictitious, but they rested on good information.

5. ἐναθήματα, properly 'offerings,' was used at this time of all public buildings.

6. βασκαίνειν, a strong word for φθονεῖν. Plutarch is fond of double expressions like βασκαίνειν καὶ διαβάλλειν, which really form one idea (*hendiadys*), and may be so rendered.

8. τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα, the common funds of the Delian Confederacy. The treasury was removed from Delos to Athens in 454 B.C. The ναοὶ χιλιστάλαντοι of l. 18 means the Parthenon, which was begun in 449 B.C. The best excuse for the removal was that the money would be safer from the Persians at Athens; but this excuse, says Plutarch, was destroyed when some of the money, which was contributed for the common war against Persia, was spent on beautifying the city.

11. ἐκεῖθεν, from Delos.

12. ἀνήρηκε, 'has destroyed'; the sentence still depends on ὥς.

14. τὰ εἰσφερόμενα means the contribution (φόρος) of the allies to the funds of the league.

33. ἀ-σύν-τακτον, 'not admitted to the regiments' (τάξεις). Service in the army was a privilege in ancient Greece and Rome, and the poor were excluded. But the latter served in the fleet as rowers, and so earned a livelihood.



PAGE 10, l. 3. ἐπιβολή and ὑπόθεσις are practically synonyms. πολύτεχνος is 'needing much skill,' and διατριβήν ἔχειν, 'to involve (require) time' for their carrying out.

4. ἐμ-βάλλειν, 'put into their minds.' φέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 'bring before the assembly (Ecclesia),' 'propose.'

5. φρουροί are 'garrisons.' Plutarch is contrasting those serving abroad with those staying at home (τὸ οἰκουροῦν): he did not know that there were φρουροί in Attica also.

7. ὅπου, 'since'; the main verb only comes at διένεμον, l. 19.

8. λίθος, 'marble.'

10. πλάσται are 'modellers in clay,' who model the works before they are cast by the χαλκοτύποι.

Almost all gold is alloyed; βαφεύς, 'dipper' (βάπτειν), may allude to this. What the process was by which ivory was softened in liquid for the purpose of working is quite unknown. μαλακτήρ, ὁ μαλάσσων, μαλακὸν ποιῶν.

11. ζωγράφοι are here painters of architecture and sculpture; ποικιλταί and τορευταί, enamellers and chasers of the metal parts, especially those of the gold and ivory statues.

12. πομποί, κομιστήρες, render by verbs, 'those who convey and carry these.'

14. ἄμαξο-πηγός, 'a cartwright': ζευγο-τρόφος, 'keeper of teams,' here of mules.

15. σκυτο-τόμοι here are not cobblers, but 'harness-makers.' All these people are employed in getting the materials for the buildings up to the Acropolis. The μεταλλεύς quarries the stone, and the ὁδο-ποιός makes the road from the quarry.

17. ἰδιώτης (ὄχλος), gang of labourers, ἰδιώτης as subst. meaning 'an unskilled labourer,' 'mate,' in contrast with τεχνίτης.

19. φύσις, 'natural gift,' 'talent.'

22. The workmen, he says, strove to expend more skill than the mechanical part of the work demanded; they put more into it than they need have done. For example, the parts of the reliefs and statues that would not be seen were finished with the same care as the visible parts, and in all the details of the building no pains were spared. The results still astonish those best able to judge the merits of the workmanship.

25. διαδοχαὶ καὶ ἡλικίαι means merely 'successive generations,' in contrast with μία πολιτεία, 'the public life of one man.'

27. Agatharchus painted the decorations of the tragic stage; Zeuxis painted pictures: hence the antagonism.

32. προ-δανείζειν, 'lend beforehand,' render, 'expended.'

33. τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποδίδωσιν, 'repays the effort' through the durability of the work when finished.

PAGE 11, l. 3. ἀρχαῖον, 'ancient,' meaning 'classical' in style, because in Plutarch's time what was ἀρχαῖον was necessarily classical.

4. νεουργός, 'newly wrought.'

6. ἀει-θαλής ('ever fresh'), πνεῦμα, etc., are object of ἐχόντων.

8. δι-εἶπε is imperf. of δι-έπω, 'direct,' not found in Attic prose; and καίτοι = Attic καίπερ with participle.

10. The shrine (*cella*) of Athena in the Parthenon was 100 ft. long; and officially Παρθενών meant only a single apartment in the temple. But in popular language 'Parthenon' meant the *whole* temple. Plutarch's use of Παρθενών here to mean only the shrine is somewhat confusing.

12. The house in which the candidates for admission to the Eleusinian mysteries were consecrated, ἐτελοῦντο, and saw the holy mysteries, ἐπόπται ἐγένοντο, was also called σηκός. It was a huge square hall borne on many pillars, on the old acropolis of Eleusis. It replaced an older building, and was not completed until the time of Demosthenes.

13. The lower range of pillars was set up by Coroebus, and the pillars joined at the top by the *architrave* (ἐπιστύλιον) above them. The *gallery* (διάζωμα) above and the upper range of pillars reaching to the roof were added by Metagenes of Xypete (a deme, parish, of Attica). Of the *opening in the roof*, lantern (ὀπαῖον), which was in that part of the building which formed the temple of the two Eleusinian goddesses Demeter and Persephone, nothing is known: it evidently formed the crowning feature of the work.

17. Χολαργεύς, of the parish of Cholargus.

18. In Plato's *Gorgias* (455 E) Socrates says that he was present when Pericles proposed the building of τὸ διὰ μέσον τεῖχος. This was the wall running from the city to the Piraeus, between the two walls built by Themistocles, and parallel to that on the west. The eastern wall of Themistocles ran to the old harbour of Phalerum; but when the Piraeus became a town, it was allowed to fall into decay. The two parallel walls together were called the 'Long Walls.'

20. *Cratinus*, a celebrated writer of Comedies, contemporary with Aristophanes.

23. The ᾠδεῖον, a name first found in this passage, lay at the south-west corner of the Acropolis. It perished early in the first century B.C. In this case also the object was to erect a large covered building, and the plan of the dome roof excited much wonder: hence also the story that it was a copy of Xerxes' (βασιλεύς, the Great King) pavilion. Inside were many ἔδραι (πολύ-εδρος) and many στῦλοι (πολύ-στυλος).

24. ῥεψις, 'roof'; περι-κλινής, 'sloping'; 'made to fall (κάταντες) from a single summit.' The description of a large domed building, which was unfamiliar to the Greeks, is rather elaborate.

27. Θρᾷτται, a comedy called 'The Thracian Women.'

29. Plutarch has explained that Pericles' head was too long

and ill-shaped. The busts of Pericles are helmeted; but the true reason of that is that they are taken from a statue by Cressilas of Crete, the base of which has been found on the Acropolis: Pericles was represented in the full dress of his office as *στρατηγός*. *σχινο-κέφαλος* means 'with a peaked head.' Ζεύς is a sarcasm on the great power of Pericles: similarly Aristophanes calls him 'the Olympian.'

31. τὸ ὀστρακόν, 'the oyster-shell,' means here 'the danger of ostracism, temporary banishment.' Every year a vote was taken in the Assembly to decide whether it was necessary to banish any public man; and the vote was given on an oyster shell.

PAGE 12, l. 1. What Pericles really did was to re-organize the musical competition held in connexion with the Panathenaic festival. It took place in the Odeum.

2. ἀθλο-θέτης: one of the ten stewards elected for every Panathenaic festival.

5. The Propylaea, so far as they were ever built, were put up in the last five years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (*πενταετία*, space of *πέντε ἔτη*). But only a fragment of the original plan was carried out.

9. This anecdote is still told with many embellishments. It has its origin in the fact that an altar of Ἀθηνᾶ Ὑγίεια stood beside a pillar in front of the Propylaea, where it still stands at the present day. Athena had the name Hygieia because there was no special goddess of Health at that time. The story was that the statue of the goddess, erected later than the altar (probably after the plague at Athens, 430-426 B.C.), was put up on this occasion.

18. Plutarch states expressly that Pheidias worked with his own hands only on the gold and ivory statue of Athena so far as the evidence showed; and this evidence was contained in an inscription, which contained either the contract or the account; he must have been mentioned in it beside the ἐπιμεληταί, at whose head was Pericles. *συν-ανα-γράφειν*, 'inscribe among others.'

### III

#### THE MUTINY OF THE MACEDONIANS

PAGE 15, l. 9. *πρὸς* = *ὑπὸ*.

13. πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις, neut.; many circumstances had produced discontent; (1) the wearing of the Persian robe (*κάνδης*), trousers (*ἀναξυρίδες*), and head-dress (*τιάρα*) by Alexander; (2) the Macedonian education of young Persians, later called the *ἐπίγονοι*; (3) their inclusion in the Guards (*ἐταῖροι*) of the Macedonian cavalry.

17. σιγῇ ἔχειν, 'to remain silent.' ἀλλὰ γάρ is used constantly by Arrian in the sense of ἀλλά.

20. Alluding to the fiction that Alexander was the son of Jupiter Ammon.

26. ὑπασπισταί are the light infantry in the Macedonian army.

28. τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, supply ὁδόν; Arrian is always trying to write elegantly.

PAGE 16, l. 2. τὴν οἴκαδε ὁρμήν, 'eagerness to go home.'

3. ὥς = ὥστε. What follows amounts to 'having shown yourselves ungrateful to your benefactors'; this euphemistic use of οἶος, ὁποῖος, 'what manner of man,' is very common.

7. The inhabitants of the wild interior of the Balkan peninsula, a very mixed lot, still live thus.

11. The χλαμύς is the Macedonian regimental cloak. It is perfectly true that Philip had trained the army that Alexander used.

14. ὀχυρότης, subst. of ὀχυρός.

15. ἀπέφηνε, 'made you.'

20. τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χ., the coast line, including Methone and Pydna with Chalcidice and the mouth of the Strymon, had been Greek, either free or subject to Athens.

22. ἀνενδεής, 'unfailing.' The gold and silver mines in the neighbourhood of his city Philippi.

23. ἐτεθνήκετε τῷ δέει has the construction of the simple φοβεῖσθαι. ἀπέφηνε, 'appointed you.' Philip became lord (ταγός) of the united Thracian districts in 344 B.C. Immediately afterwards he destroyed the power of the Phocians and received a place in the Amphictyonic Council.

29. That the Macedonians had been tributaries of Athens is asserted by the Athenian opponents of Philip; but there is no proof of it. The power of Thebes is somewhat exaggerated in the reference to it; but Philip had been brought up there as a hostage. Both states in 338 B.C. entered the union of Greek states under Philip's presidency; and a garrison was placed in Thebes. In the same year the affairs of the Peloponnese were settled by Philip, and the territory of Sparta was considerably curtailed. At the same time he was elected commander-in-chief of the league.

33. Philip had made plans for invading Asia himself, but was assassinated in 336 B.C. before taking any action.

PAGE 17, l. 4. μεγάλα ὥς σκέψασθαι, 'great when looked at.'

8. This is much exaggerated; but a contemporary states that Philip left debts amounting to 200 talents.

15. Φρύγες ἀμφότεροι: the Persian empire was divided into twenty provinces (*satrapies*). There were two called Phrygia, the greater in the interior, with Celaenae for its capital, the

other ἡ κάτω Φρυγία or Φ. ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ, with Dascylium in Bithynia for its capital.

20. ἡ μέση τῶν π., Mesopotamia. The list of places and privileges gained is very impressive; but is slightly spoiled by some exaggeration.

26. ὅτι μή, 'except.' The *χλαμύς* was purple: the *διάδημα* was a long band of fine stuff worn on the Macedonian felt hat (*κανοσία*).

29. 'I have no object in treasuring them for my own enjoyment.'

32. προ-αγρυπνεῖν, 'be awake earlier.'

PAGE 18, l. 1. ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, 'but, it may be said,' putting a supposed objection.

8. ἐκ χειρός, from the hand, 'at close quarters'; ἐκ τῶν ἀφιεμένων, from those that are discharged, 'at a distance.'

9. It is true that Alexander had many times been wounded.

μηχανή, *catapulta*.

14. Alexander had married the Asiatic Rhoxana, and given Persian wives to many Macedonians.

17. 'Without troubling about the reason for which they were incurred.' Although they received so much in pay and as plunder, he paid off all debts.

20. Decoration with a golden crown is a form of reward adopted from the Greeks.

23. We should have to assume that the honour paid to all those who fell in victorious engagements was a statue in the ancient capital Dion, and the exemption of the parents from all compulsory services and payments to the government. This actually happened in the case of the battle of the Granicus; but no doubt the statement here made is a generalization from that instance.

30. The verb that governs this object does not arrive till p. 19, l. 13. The enormous length of the sentence and its monotony are contrived to depict the enormous results achieved.

PAGE 19, l. 1. ἔστε ἐπί, 'right up to.'

2. The names Caucasus and Tanais were wrongly given by the Macedonians to the Parapamisus (Hindu Kush) and the Jaxartes (Sihoon). They confused the rivers and hills of India with those that they had heard of in the north-west of Asia; and this was natural since they began by supposing the Caspian Sea to be the Sea of Azov or even the outer ocean.

4. Alluding to the fabled travels of Bacchus, which included India.

6. 'Would have crossed': in reality Alexander turned back at the Hyphasis of his own accord.

15. ὑμῖν depends on εὐκλεᾶ and ὅσια, but supplies also the agent to ἀπαγγελλέοντα. 'The report of these things will be for you,' etc.

18. He omitted the bath and exercise, and took his meals alone.

23. By a Persian custom the relatives of the king had the right to kiss him. These Persian 'kinsmen,' however, were not *natural* relations of Alexander, but had the title bestowed on them.

28. 'Knew not what to do or what to say.'

31. The new Persian companies had been formed before this; but now they entered the personal service of the king as a separate army, and the names of the crack Macedonian regiments were given to them with the addition 'Persian.' The Foot Guards, Silver Shields, and Horse Guards each contained a 'Royal Corps.'

PAGE 20, l. 2. καρτεροὶ σφῶν ἦσαν: Attic ἐαυτῶν ἐκράτησαν. ὥς πρὸς is merely for πρὸς in Arrian.

4. αὐτοῦ, adverb. ταύτας (the arms) is attracted in gender to ἱκετηρίας, 'tokens of supplication'; supply οὕσας. The weapons were ἱκετηρίαί for approaching the king, just as an olive branch bound with wool was for approaching a god.

11. ὁ δέ, still Alexander. This use of ὁ δέ is an imitation of old Ionic style; Attic only uses it when the subject is changed.

13. καὶ αὐτῷ (agent) προχέται (passive): Arrian had in mind ἐδάκρυνσε, but substitutes a phrase with a different grammatical construction; no doubt he thought this needless change very good style.

14. ἀνάγεσθαι is 'to weigh anchor,' hence 'to start.' ὥς with fut. partic. to express the purpose after it is idiomatic.

17. 'What troubles the M. is that,' etc.

23. τό γε ἀπὸ τοῦτου, 'henceforward.'

28. οἷς αὐτῷ νόμος (ἦν θύειν). The Macedonian custom was to sit at meals, not to recline like the Greeks and Orientals.

30. ἐν τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων, 'next to them.'

32. ὅσοι . . . πρεσβευόμενοι: the verb *to be* is so regularly omitted when the predicate to ὅσος is an *adjective* (ὅσοι ὑμῶν ἀγαθοί, sc. ἐστέ), that Arrian here uses a *participle* just like an adj., with ἦσαν to be supplied.

33. To drink from the same bowl is a pledge of friendship; hence the phrase φιλοτήσιος κρατήρ, like 'loving cup.'

PAGE 21, l. 1. The king offered the prayer when the libation was poured.

12. They received full pay for the time that would elapse before they reached home, and a talent besides.

20. Their military training as well as their general education were to be Macedonian.

22. στάθμη is a carpenter's line, τέκμαρ the mark that shows the point to which he is to cut; hence 'without control or limit' is the meaning. ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας ἐς, 'how friendly he is towards.'

29. οὖ: this gen. of the personal pronoun is obsolete in Attic; Arrian got it from Herodotus

## IV

## YOUTH OF SCIPIO AEMILIANUS

The following tables will be useful for reference in this passage.

## I.

*P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* (consul 205, censor 199, d. 183) married *Aemilia*, sister of *L. Aemilius Paullus*, victor of Pydna.

Their children :

1. *P. Scipio*, augur, d. after 168.  
He adopted : *P. Scipio Africanus*, son of the victor of Pydna (b. about 185, consul 147, 134, censor 142, d. 129), who married Sempronia, sister of the Gracchi : see table II. 2.
2. *L. Scipio*, praetor 174.
3. *Cornelia* married *P. Scipio Nasica* (consul 162, censor 159).  
Their son : *P. Nasica Serapio* (consul 138), the opponent of the Gracchi.
4. *Cornelia* married *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus* (consul 177, 163, censor 169).

Their children :

1. *Ti. Gracchus* (tribune 133, d. 133).
2. *C. Gracchus* (tribune 123, 122, d. 121).
3. *Sempronia* married *P. Scipio Africanus minor*.

## II.

*L. Aemilius Paullus* (consul 219, 216, killed at Cannae 216).

Children :

1. *L. Aemilius Paullus*, victor of Pydna (b. before 228, consul 182, 168, censor 164, d. 160).  
Married, first, *Papiria*, daughter of C. Papirius Maro (consul 231).

Children :

1. *Q. Fabius* (consul 145).
2. *P. Scipio Africanus minor* (hero of this piece).
3. *Aemilia* married *Q. Aelius Tubero*.
4. *Aemilia* married *M. Porcius Cato*.

Married, second, lady of unknown name, and had issue two sons who died before him.

2. *Aemilia* married *P. Scipio Africanus maior*.

The style of Polybius is difficult to us, both on account of the vocabulary and the peculiar sense in which he uses words, though to his contemporaries it was easy to follow, and though it is complicated by no unusual thoughts or expressions. The

explanation of this seeming contradiction is that Polybius uses the actual language of his own time (which in the course of a natural development had got somewhat far away from the Greek of Demosthenes), though, at the same time, his style shows the influence of rhetorical and even philosophical training in a marked degree. A century after Polybius a reaction set in, a conscious effort to drive the Greek language back to the classical Attic; and this new Attic in the second century of our era completely prevailed, so that the true Hellenistic dialect survived only in the literature of the people—particularly the language of the New Testament and of Epictetus—and that only in the vocabulary, since the literature of the people makes no claim to a style of any sort. Polybius strove to give an artistic form to what he wrote by carefully avoiding the collision of vowels in different words (*hiatus*), by forming his periods carefully, and by expressing his thoughts fully and clearly. One consequence of his effort to write clearly is that synonyms are not only interchanged, but often, as we saw in the case of Plutarch also, used together to represent an idea completely. Then he is not satisfied with the ordinary word, but substitutes new forms or circumlocutions; for instance ἐγένετο συγκύρημά τι τοιούτον (p. 26, l. 5) means nothing more than συνέβη τόδε: for τῷ χρώματι γενόμενος ἐνερευθής (p. 26, l. 11) the simple ἐρυθρίασας would have sufficed. In translating, these periphrases constantly vanish; and when we break up his periods, it becomes apparent that many of his clauses were only inserted for the sake of rhetorical symmetry.

PAGE 24, l. 1. The victor of Pydna. This victory in 168 B.C. over Perseus, last king of Macedon, put an end to the Macedonian monarchy.

6. ἐξ Ἰβηρίας: as praetor in 191.

7. θησαυρός: among the treasure of King Perseus in gold and silver alone over 6,000 talents were found.

8. περὶ τὰ π., 'in the events referred to.' τέτευχα is late perfect of τυγχάνω.

9. τοσούτον, 'only so much.' βίος for the means by which one lives is Attic.—To the property of the second wife of Paullus (ἡ γυνή) the sons of the first marriage had of course no right. But they could not raise enough by the sale of τὰ ἔπιπλα, their movable goods, to pay her back. They had consequently to sell some of their landed property. The sum to be paid amounted to twenty-five talents.

12. προσ-απεδόμην, 'sold in addition.'

13. ὑπέρ = περί: τὰ κατὰ μέρος, 'the details'; he refers to an earlier passage in which he has alluded to the matter. He thinks that the abstinence of Paullus outdoes that of those whom the



Greeks admire most for their conduct *in this respect* (περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος).

PAGE 25, l. 2. Construction: εἰ γὰρ τὸ . . . ἀπέχεσθαι (to refuse money when it is offered you) θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, . . . τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι (to covet nothing when a whole kingdom is at your disposal) πόσῳ θαυμαστότερόν ἐστιν.

9. οἶκεν ἀπίστω, 'it is like an untruth,' 'it can hardly be true.' But, says Polybius, if I speak falsely, my many Roman readers will know and condemn me.

14. Το δυνατόν and εἰκός supply ἐστί. 'No writer would have courted certain disbelief (i. e. have laid himself out to be disbelieved) and (consequent) contempt.'

17. πραγματεία was the special word used at this time for a serious and carefully written 'work.' παρά, 'throughout.'

19. ἔφοδος, 'plan of the work'; καιροί, 'the events' as narrated in the work. ἐφέστακα is a late perf. form with *trans.* sense, for ἐπέστησα: render 'having directed our attention.' οἰκία means the 'family' of Paullus.

21. τὸ ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ καταλειφθὲν συν-εκ-πληροῦν, 'to make good the promise that was left unfulfilled.'

22. φιληκόων: we should say 'the curious.'

24. θάττον ἢ καθήκεν means 'before the time came,' 'at an unusually early age.'

27. ὥς, 'as far as.' ἐπι-δια-τείνω, 'extend,' intrans.

29. αἵρεσις, what one chooses; here 'preference' for each other; συμ-περι-φορά, 'constant intercourse.'

30. κατ-αρχή: a grander word for ἀρχή. σύστασις from συν-ιστάναι, to place together, associate.

32. χρήσις means both 'lending' and 'borrowing.'

PAGE 26, l. 1. ἀνακεκλημένων: the 1,000 Achaean hostages had received a formal 'summons' to Rome. πόλεις means the Italian towns among which they were dispersed.

δια-σπεύδειν πρὸς τινα with object in infin. means 'to urge upon one that.' The two sons begged their father to let Polybius stay at Rome.

5. συγκύρημα: see preliminary note.

6. κατὰ ταυτό, 'at the same (time).'

8. ἀπο-νεύειν, 'turn away.'

11. ἐν-ερευθής, 'red'; see preliminary note.

13. ἀπόφασις, here merely 'remark,' below (l. 28) 'opinion.'

15. διάληψις, 'judgment.'

18. αἵρεσις here is 'principles,' and πράξις 'activity.' κρίσεις λέγειν, *causas agere*, 'plead in the courts,' the method by which young Romans, ambitious to rise in political life, began their public career.

20. By 'the house from which I come' the speaker means the family of the Scipios, speaking as an adopted member of it. Some words have been lost here.

22. *ξενισθείς*, 'surprised.'

24. *τὸ παράπαν*, after a negative, 'at all.'

25. *καταγινώσκων* = *καταφρονῶν*.

26. *τῷ . . . εἶναι*: giving the cause, a very common construction in late Greek.

28. *εἰς*: we must say 'with.'

29. *ἀπ-ερείδομαι πρὸς*, i. e. 'I seek support from.'

31. *αὐτῷ* = *σεαυτῷ*.

PAGE 27, l. 1. 'I would gladly devote myself entirely (*συν-επιδίδωμι*) to you.' *δυνατὸς λέγειν καὶ πράττειν* was a phrase describing the competence of a public man.

3. *μαθήματα* are Scipio's studies in Greek.

6. *κατὰ τὸ παρόν*, 'at the present day.' *τῶν τοιούτων*, viz. *τῶν συνεργησόντων*, learned Greeks.

11. *ἐμπαθῶς*, 'feelingly.'

13. *δεύτερον τίθεσθαι*, 'to reckon of less account.'

16. *ὀρμή*, *impetus*: *ἀποδοχή*, 'ready approbation,' together 'the eagerness with which he welcomed his advances.'

18. *ὑπεροχή*, 'eminence.'

19. *πλήν*, 'however.' *ἀνθ-ομολόγησις*, the result of *τὸ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι*, 'mutual understanding.'

22. *λοιπὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ συνεχές*, 'for the future constantly.' By 'giving each other a proof of themselves in the facts themselves' he means 'by their lives proving to each other their sincerity.' The result was that they came to regard each other with 'a father's and kinsman's feeling and affection.'

26. *πρώτη-ἐνέπεσεν-τό*, 'the first—that filled him, was to.'

29. *δυσέφικτος* = *εἰς ὃν χαλεπὸν ἐφικέσθαι*. Amongst the young Romans a general decline of morals and increase of luxury had set in as a result of the acquaintance with Greek and Asiatic manners which was the consequence of the war with Antiochus of Syria (192-189 B.C.). The recent fall of the Macedonian kingdom, he explains, had made matters much worse.

32. *οἷον*, 'as it were.'

PAGE 28, l. 3. *ἐπίφασις*: a general 'appearance' (cf. *ἐπιφάνεια*) of wealth in private as well as in public life was due to the arrival of the Macedonian treasure.

8. *ὁμολογούμενος*, 'consistent.'

15. *ὑποδοχή*, 'support.' *κατὰ φύσιν* and *κατὰ θέσιν πατὴρ* regular phrases for the natural and adoptive father. Among the Greeks adoption was then much commoner than among Romans of position.

*συμβίωσις*: the act of *συμβιοῦν*.

17. *τὸ αὐτόματον* is 'instinct.'

23. The adoptive grandson was heir to the widow's property because she left no surviving sons.

25. *μεγαλομερής*, extensive in its details, 'elaborate, magnifi-

cent.' *περίστασις* means the state or ceremony, with which a great lady would appear at public functions; the commonest occasions were religious ceremonies.

28. The right to use a carriage was a privilege of ladies of rank.

33. ἀκόλουθον τούτοις, 'on a similar scale.' *περικοπή* means the same as *περίστασις*, 'splendour.'

PAGE 29, l. 2. *μητρί*, *Papiria*.

3. πρότερον ἤδη χ. πολλοῖς, 'a long time before this.' She 'had not the means to keep up her position.'

9. The ζεύγος was a pair of mules, which then were called ἡμίονοι, but the old name was ὄρεῖς: hence ὄρεωκόμος, muleteer, coachman.

19. κατακόρης, 'excessive, wearisome,' esp. in talk.

21. The two Cornelias: see Table I.

25. Scipio Africanus had agreed with his two sons-in-law to give this *dos* to his daughters, and had arranged how it was to be paid. After his death his widow, doubtless in accordance with the arrangement, paid each daughter half the sum. Her heir, Scipio Aemilianus, had to pay the other half from her estate.

29. The law was that the *dos* should be paid in three annual instalments. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

31. The custom referred to is that the movables that formed part of the *dos* were handed over first (*προδοθέντων πρώτων*) *within* the first ten months (i.e., according to the old reckoning, a year) of the period of three years, and their value was deducted from the sum to be paid.

PAGE 30, l. 1. Scipio had received the money and had to pay it *back* (*ἀνταπόδοσις*) into the dowry.

7. διαγραφή, 'account.'

9. ἀγνοεῖν, 'was mistaken,' for classical ἐψεῦσθαι.

12. δι-απιστεῖν, intensive of ἀπιστεῖν: προάγειν, intrans., 'to go on': δια-λαμβάνειν, 'suppose' (class. ὑπολαμβάνειν).

14. οὐ . . . οἶον, 'so far from.'

15. πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν, 'three years before the time.' This use of *πρὸ* and *μετά* in the later writers is quite usual.

18. διάφορον, 'getting a profit': λυσιτέλεια, 'gain,' viz. the interest received on money held back as long as possible. Even with the then moderate interest of 1 per cent. per month, Scipio might have made nine talents by keeping the money till it was legally due.

18. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 'however.'

21. ἀδελφαῖς, of the testator: they were young Scipio's adoptive aunts.

22. τὸ κηδεμονικὸν ἐμφανίζοντες, 'showing their solicitude' for him, by pointing out that he was opposing his own interests.

29. ἐπανήγον, to the bank.

31. μικρο-λογία, 'meanness.'

33. μεταλλάξαντος, viz. τὸν βίον, as at p. 28, l. 18. Paullus died 160 B. C., and left his property to two surviving sons, Fabius and Scipio, both of whom had been adopted into other families.

PAGE 31, l. 3. ἄτεκνος, 'without sons'; he had daughters.

8. τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, 'in possessions.' He 'gave up' (ἐκχωρεῖν) the share that now belonged to him, his half, the whole property being valued at over sixty talents.

14. μονομαχίας: these are the funeral games; they included, but did not consist wholly of combats between gladiators. The *Adelphi* of Terence was produced at them, and in the ancient prefatory note (*didascalía*) to the play, both brothers are mentioned as giving the entertainment.

18. μεγαλομερῶς: see p. 28, l. 25.

20. ἡ μήτηρ: Papiria, to whom Scipio had given Aemilia's περικοπή (p. 28, l. 33). It now came back to him by his mother's will; but instead of keeping it, he gave it to his sisters.

23. ἀδελφαῖς: the wives of Tubero and Cato.

27. τὸ φιλοῖκειον, 'family affection.'

29. προκατασκευάζεσθαι, 'begin by doing.'

30. φιλο-δοξεῖν, 'seek honour.'

32. προίεσθαι, 'give away.'

PAGE 32, l. 1. προκείμενον, 'the matter in hand,' viz. τὴν φήμην.

2. τῷ χειρισμῷ τῆς χάριτος, 'by the way in which he bestowed the favour.'

3. τὴν σωφροσύνην means τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ φήμην.

8. Construction: ἀντὶ τὸν προχείρων ('ordinary') ἡδονῶν ὧν π. ἀπέσχετο.

15. συνέργημα = συνεργία.

16. ἀνέναι was used of land which was withdrawn from ordinary use, mostly for consecration to a god; but here it is 'preserved' for hunting (as a παράδεισος). This custom was adopted in the monarchies that resulted from Alexander's conquests. Alexander and his generals had met with such preserves among the Persians, and introduced the custom the more readily because hunting was the national sport in Macedon. In Greece hunting was usual, except where, as in Attica, the land was too much cultivated to make it possible. Hence Polybius, an Arcadian, was a keen hunter. Among the Romans, however, the sport did not flourish, and was regarded as something exotic. Hence Scipio, as in later times the emperor Hadrian, occasioned surprise by his devotion to hunting.

19. The war between Macedon and Rome (171-168 B. C.).

21. περισπασμός, 'distraction, impediment,' occasioned by the war.

24. ψυχαγωγία, 'pastime.'

25. συνιστάναι, 'place at the disposal.' βασιλικούς, those of King Perseus.

27. ἐπιλαβόμενος, 'eagerly taking to.' οἶονε, 'as it were.'  
 30. μάχην, Pydna.  
 32. The two clauses in gen. abs. give two different reasons for his ἐπίμονος ('permanent') ὁρμή. οἰκείως, 'suitably,' to make a keen hunter.

PAGE 33, l. 3. ἐνθουσιασμός: the word is Attic only in the literal sense of 'inspiration.'

5. The *salutationes* are meant, i.e. not only the receptions of prominent persons at their houses, but also the greetings in the forum by those who came there in attendance on important citizens for lawsuits and other business.

6. συνιστάνειν: colloquial form of συνιστάναι, serving here to avoid the *hiatus*.

9. ἐξεφέρετο, 'won from it.'

10. οἷς, demonstrative.

13. His ἔργα were more effectual than their λόγοι.

17. πρὸς, 'in reference to, in his attitude towards.'

25. 'Because some of the things that happened later in his career will seem extraordinary.'

27. τὰ κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατορθώματα are the successes that were won as the result of his calculation, in contrast with what was due to mere fortune (τύχη) and luck (τὸ αὐτόματον).

## V

### CUSTOMS OF THE CELTS

PAGE 36, l. 2. ἀρειμάνιον, ἄρει μεμηνός, 'warlike.'

PAGE 37, l. 3. περίσκεψις, 'consideration.'

4. κατα-στρατηγεῖν, 'conquer by stratagem': στρατηγία versus βία and τόλμα.

5. ἀφ' ἧς ἔτυχε (παροξύναι) προφάσεως: we say 'on any pre-text he chooses.'

9. πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, so that it is possible χρησθαι αὐτοῖς, 'they give in readily and become sociable.'

10. λόγοι, 'rhetoric,' the staple of the ancient higher education, in which the Gauls became very proficient.

13. αὐθέκαστον, 'bluntness,' whence quarrels readily arise, and when any one has a grievance, his neighbours share his resentment (συναγανακτεῖν).

17. τῶν, governed by ἐκ.

24. μᾶλλον δέ, 'or rather.' πανοίκιος is an adjective from πανοικία. ἐξαίρειν = ἀπαίρειν, intrans.

31. The Spaniards 'regulated and split up (lit. changed into small money, κέρματα) the fighting' into a number of scattered campaigns, carrying on a guerilla warfare, 'like freebooters' (ληστρικῶς). Hence it took long to subdue them.

PAGE 38, l. 4. παρ-ωκεανίτης, ὁ παρὰ τῷ ὠκεανῷ (Atlantic) οἰκῶν.

11. εἰς, 'as many as.'

15. σαγηφορεῖν, 'to wear the soldier's cloak' (*sagum*), l. 18: κομποτροφεῖν, 'let the hair (*coma*) grow': περι-τεταμένους (τείνω), 'wide.'

16. σχιστός, 'slit,' but here as subst. for χιτῶν σχιστός: χειρι-δωτός, having χειρίδες, sleeves. He is merely describing a jacket which the Greeks did not use.

17. ἐρέα, late form for ἔριον: ἀκρόμαλλος, 'with long flocks.'

18. λαῖνα = *laena*; see χλαῖνα.

20. ὑποδίφθερος: the Romans introduced into Gaul the South Italian, originally Greek, method of sheep farming; the sheep, having fine wool, were covered with skins.

ικανῶς ἂ. ἐρέας, 'with fairly fine wool.'

23. κατὰ λόγον, 'in proportion,' as regards length.

25. γρόσφος is the short javelin of light-armed troops.

28. χαμ-ευεῖν, χαμαὶ εὐνᾶσθαι.

31. ἀγραιοῦσιν: in contrast with those kept in confinement.

PAGE 39, l. 2. θολο-ειδής, 'round.'

3. ὑοφόρβιον, 'herd of swine.'

4. тариχεία, for the older τάριχος, is meat preserved by drying, smoking, or salting. 8. ὥς δ' αὐτως = ὡσαύτως δέ.

13. ἐσπασμένος: see σπάω.

20. The Aedui are meant. Diodorus copies Posidonius closely, without bringing his statements up to date. The Aedui had in point of fact revolted against Caesar, and when Diodorus wrote their 'friendship' with Rome had lost its significance.

23. The cold of the northern winter, which had struck Posidonius, is wrongly attributed by Diodorus to the whole of Gaul.

26. The description of ice and hoar-frost is confused: Diodorus had no experience of them.

PAGE 40, l. 7. ζύθος, 'beer.'

8. ἀπόπλυμα, 'liquid, mead.' κάτοινος, 'given to drinking.'

18. ἀμειβόμενοι, 'getting in exchange.' διάκονος, 'waiter.'

19. τὸ σύνολον οὐ γ., 'is wholly wanting.'

21. μεταλλεία, 'mining'; ἄνευ μ. καὶ κακοπαθείας, 'without the trouble of mining it.' ὑπουργεῖν, 'supply.'

24. πληροῖ, intrans. = πλήθει.

25. ἀσχολεῖσθαι, 'to be engaged.'

26. ἀλήθουσιν, between stones.

27. τῆς φύσεως depends on τὸ γεῶδες, 'the earthy portion found in it': the object of παραδιδάσιν is τοῦτο (τὸ ψῆγμα).

29. χωνεία, 'melting.'

33. κρίκος, the *torques*, characteristic of the Celts and seen on figures of them.

PAGE 41, l. 4. A τέμενος ἀνειμένον is consecrated ground. A celebrated instance is the gold of Toulouse which was carried off

by Q. Servilius Caepio, the Roman commander defeated by the Cimbri at Arausio in 105 B. C. ; and the enormous booty secured by Caesar in Gaul consisted largely of this consecrated gold ; cf. Caesar vi. 17.

9. κάθυγροι, 'moist.'

12. τινάνου ἀπόπλυμα, water poured on chalk, 'whitening.' Diodorus however means the *sapo* made of fat and ashes which the Gauls used for colouring their hair ; from them it passed to the Germans. The folly of fashion brought it also to Rome (Martial xiv. 26). From this Gallic word and Gallic invention our soap is derived.

13. τένοντες, governed by ἐπί, the sinews of the neck, 'nape.'

16. κατεργασία, 'treatment.'

17. The extant figures of Gauls, which are taken from the Asiatic type, show only a moustache.

19. ἀπολεαίνω, 'keep smooth.' ὑπήνη is 'moustache.'

22. καθαπερ-εἰ, 'as if.'

24. ὑπό-στρωμα, 'mat.'

25. ἐχόντων ἡλικίαν, 'come to maturity,' qualifying νεωτάτων.

28. 'With meat on them, not divided up' (ὅλον μέλος, limb), not cut into joints.

32. *Iliad* vii. 321.

PAGE 42, l. 5. παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεσθαι, 'regard as nothing, of no account.'

10. The sentence is in accus. and infin. Diodorus was in the habit of writing with a book before him from which he made extracts. In doing this he sometimes writes as if he were reporting the author's statements.

15. ἐφιππεύω, attack on horseback, 'charge.' σαυνιάζω, 'hurl the javelin (σαυνίον) at.'

25. προ-ανα-σείειν, 'shake in front.'

27. ἐξ-υμνεῖν, 'loudly proclaim.'

30. προ-αφαιρῆσθαι, 'take away beforehand': here *conative* present.

33. ἐπι-παιανίζειν, 'chant a paean over.'

PAGE 43, l. 3. κεδροῦν, properly 'embalm with cedar oil'; this was used for embalming the dead by the Greeks ; the Celts of course got the resin not from the cedar, but from trees of their own.

8. χρυσὸν ἀντίσταθμον, 'the weight in gold.'

10. σύσσημα, 'tokens.'

11. πολεμεῖν, trans. in late Greek, here governing τὸ ὁμόφυλον, which = τοὺς ὁμοφύλους.

12. καταπληκτικός, 'astonishing.'

13. διηνητισμένος, 'figured'; ornaments woven in stuff were called ἄνθη. The Celtic *bracae* were regarded by the Romans as a remarkable characteristic. In the imperial period the name spread, and got into several languages, Italian, Spanish, English.

14. ἐπι-πορπεῖν, 'fasten' with a πόρπη, *fibula*. ραβδωτός, 'plaid,'

πλινθία being the 'squares' of the tartan. In summer the cloak (σάγος) was of smooth plaid, in winter of rough.

17. πολυανθής, 'variegated.' θυρεός, p. 38, l. 23.

18. ἰδιοτρόπως, 'in a peculiar way.'

21. ἐξοχή: these 'projections' are large crests, such as are seen on early Etruscan and Greek helmets.

25. The σάλπιγξ is to be seen under the figure of the dying Gaul of the Capitol. ἰδιοφυής, 'of a peculiar kind.'

28. ἀλυσιδωτός, 'of chain' (ἄλυσις). τοῖς, viz. θώραξι, a feeble joke, θώραξ meaning 'chest' also.

30. ξίφος is the short sword of Greeks and Romans.

32. κατάργυρος, 'covered with silver.'—συζώννυμι.

PAGE 44, l. 2. ἐπίθημα, 'head.'

4. For σαυνία see note on p. 42, l. 15. It is the παλτοῦ τι εἶδος of p. 38, l. 24.

6. ἐπ' εὐθείας, 'straight': ἐλικοειδής, 'twisted': δι' ὅλων, 'throughout,' the plural is used to avoid *hiatus*.

7. ἀνάκλασις, 'bend.'

8. θραύειν, 'tear.'

9. ἀνακομιδή, 'withdrawal.'

11. τραχύφωνοι, τραχεῖαν τὴν φωνὴν ἔχοντες.

12. αἰνιγματαῖαι, 'like to hint at a thing.' συνεκδοχή is the way of speaking that suggests a thing without mentioning it, 'so that you can infer it' (συνεκδοχικῶς), as when one speaks of an organ as a 'box of whistles.' French is full of polite forms of συνεκδοχή.—The next clause—πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες—is in contrast with this: on the other hand they are fond of boasting.

14. ἐπ' αὐξήσει, 'to magnify,' contrasted with ἐπὶ μείωσει, 'to belittle.'

15. ἀνατατικός, 'affected,' from ἀνατείνεισθαι, to stretch, strain, hence 'to be affected,' give oneself airs: τραγωδεῖσθαι, to assume the manner of a tragic actor, 'to be pompous.'

21. θεολόγοι, 'theologians.'

24. οἰωνοσκοπία, 'augury.'

28. Strabo tells us that the dagger was driven through the body from behind.

33. Posidonius put faith in divination, and so doubtless believed in the wisdom of the Druids.

PAGE 45, l. 2. ὁμοφώνων: understanding the language of the gods, as it were, and therefore knowing how to address them.

11. κατ-επ-ᾶδειν, 'subdue by enchantment'; ἐπωδή, 'charm.'

16. Strabo tells us that the Romans had forbidden this barbarous custom.

23. ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, i. e. ὁ Στωικός.

24. ἥς π. φιλοσοφίας depends on οὐκ ἄλλοτρίως, 'in a manner not inconsistent with.' That a philosopher should write history seems strange to Athenaeus; but Posidonius, he thinks, showed



himself true to philosophy by describing not mere events, but manners and customs.

25. ἔθιμα = ἔθη; νόμιμα = νόμοι.

28. ἐπαίρειν, 'raise.'

Cf. p. 38, l. 29.

30. καθαρείως, 'in a cleanly manner': λεοντωδῶς, 'like λέοντες.'

PAGE 46, l. 1. δυσάποσπαστος, 'difficult to tear off': μαχαίριον diminutive of μάχαιρα. The scabbard of their swords has a pocket in it for the knife.

7. ποτόν: the beer described presently.

8. τὸ ἀσύνηθες, 'want of familiarity'; they are not accustomed to it.

10. ὡς ἄν, 'like.'

11. εὐχειρία, the quality of ὁ εὖχειρ.

14. θυρεούς defines the ὅπλον they carry. ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω, 'behind,' the plural as in ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, and so on; the fem. sing. might be used, as in κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρύν.

16. Among the Greeks the shield-bearer was a servant.

18. ἀμβικον (older form ἀμβιξ) is a bowl with rim turned outwards.

κεράμεος, made of κέραμος.

24. ζύθος, 'beer,' called κόρμα or κοῦρμι. The Romans found it very nasty. The emperor Julian drank it in Paris, and made a witty epigram on it, in the course of which he asked

ἦ ρά σε Κέλτοι.

τῇ πενίῃ βοτρύων τεύξαν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων;

25. καθ' αὐτό, 'alone.'

27. When the cup-bearer came round, only a gulp was taken; but one might have as many as one liked.

## PART II

### I

#### TYPES OF MEN

##### 1. *The Flatterer.*

PAGE 47, l. 1. The *Flatterer* is a citizen who lives by cultivating the friendship of a rich man. The Parasite in the comedies of Menander possesses most of these traits, but he is generally of lower station socially, and doesn't associate with his patron on a footing of outward equality.

τοιούτός τις, οἷος, 'the sort of man to'; see introduction.

2. ἐνθυμούμαι, 'notice.'

4. στοά, 'colonnade,' where men met and conversed.

πλειόνων: the constr. shifts to the oblique form.

PAGE 48, l. 2. All thought of him first, and all came round to him again after suggesting others.

4. ἀφελεῖν depends on οἶος above, and so with the infins. coming. It is best to trans. by the indic., 'he takes off.'

6. καρφο-λογῶ, he 'picks out the specks of chaff from the great man's hair.'

7. δυνεῖν: a late form, which was joined with the plural, the dual case having fallen out of use.—It is implied that the flatterer takes a grey hair from the other's beard. 'Why,' he says, 'your beard is turning grey because we haven't met for two days; even so you have got fewer grey hairs than any one for your age.' τρίχες is regularly omitted with πολιαί.

9. αὐτοῦ, 'his master'; compare αὐτὸς ἔρχεται, 'the master's coming,' used by slaves, and αὐτὸς ἔφα (= ἔφη), used by the disciples of Pythagoras.

10. ἀκούοντας, sc. αὐτοῦ, gen. abs.; he takes care that the patron can hear his compliments.

11. ὀρθῶς, '(by exclaiming) excellent,' lit. 'rightly (spoken).'

17. νεόττια, 'chicks'; the words are really addressed to the father—they are chips of the old block, as we say.

ἐπι-κρητῖδες: strong boots to be worn over the sandals (ὑποδήματα). He says this while the boots are being tried on.

22. παρακείμενος, he secures the place next the master. μαλακῶς, 'elegantly,' in this connexion; 'what elegant fare!'

24. μή, 'whether he feels cold and wants to cover himself up'; at the same time he offers to draw his mantle closer round him as he reclines.

26. δια-ψιθυρίζειν, 'whisper apart.'

28. The patron's slave is carrying his master's cushion as they enter the theatre, intending to place it on the stone seat; but the flatterer takes it from the slave, and places it himself.

30. ἀγρός, 'garden.' The Athenian land was for the most part stocked with the olive and other fruit trees, the return from which far exceeded that from grain crops. The soil of Attica is for the most part barren, and only yields a return to careful cultivation.

The portrait was idealized, as was commonly the case.

## 2. The Garrulous Man.

PAGE 49, l. 1. τῆς νυκτός, 'last night.'

7. Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ, the principal festival of Dionysus, took place in the month Elaphebolion, shortly before the full moon, corresponding to March. The sea was considered to be safe for navigation generally from the end of February.

10. Damippus is unknown, and so is the custom alluded to. As part of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries took place at night, it is not surprising that private persons should set up torches.

11. The Odeum, a small theatre, built by Pericles (see p. 12, l. 4) was close to the theatre of Dionysus. It was so called because it was originally used for recitations by poets and competitions between harp players.

12. ἤμεσα, 'took an emetic,' no doubt a periodical incident in his domestic life, which he thinks worth mentioning.

13. He mentions the months in which occurred respectively the great Eleusinian mysteries, the Apaturia, or social festival of families, and the winter or country festival of Dionysus, which was celebrated κατ' ἀγρούς, i.e. in the villages. This is much like mentioning the period when Lent falls and the date of Christmas.

### 3. *The Absent-minded Man.*

16. ἀναίσθητος, 'absent-minded man,' is evidently the sense here, rather than 'stupid' or 'wanting in tact.'

17. ταῖς ψήφοις: he reckons by placing pebbles on a calculating board (ἄβακος). These boards were divided by lines into compartments or squares, representing 1,000, 100, 10, 1.

18. δίκην φεύγειν is 'to be defendant in an action'; δ. διώκειν, 'to be prosecutor'; and so, by analogy, δίκην εἰσιέναι, 'to come before the court in an action.'

24. ἀγαθὴ τύχη corresponds to 'good luck!'

25. δεινός goes with the infin., meaning 'he is the man to.' When a debtor paid money, it was to his interest to have witnesses present, because no form of receipt was given at Athens; but there was no reason why a creditor receiving money should have witnesses.

28. He makes his children take too much exercise, and does not notice when they show signs of serious fatigue (κόποι) that may lead to illness.

31. Ἡρίαι πύλαι: little is known about this gate; but it seems that funerals passed through it to a cemetery (ἡρίον, a grave). The reply, 'I wish you and I had as many,' would suit such a question as 'how many corn-ships have arrived at the Piraeus?'

### 4. *The Vain Man.*

PAGE 50, l. 1. μικρο-φιλό-τιμος: one who prides himself on matters of no importance. The man here described belongs to a good family, serves in the cavalry, is a senator (member of the βουλῇ), and travels: and he loves to make himself prominent.

3. When a boy came to man's estate—became an *ἐφηβος*—his hair was cut and dedicated to a god. It was an old custom, now fallen into disuse, to dedicate the hair to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi. It is likely that the cutting of the hair took place during the festival of the Apaturia (see p. 40, l. 13) on the day thence called *κουρεῶτις*. 5. *Αἰθίοψ*, 'a nigger.'

6. He sees that his slave pays in new money.

9. The frontal bone with the horns: it is decorated with the fillets that the animal had worn in token of its consecration.

13. *ἀναβαλόμενος τὸ ἱματίον*: the gala costume of a knight consisted of a short cloak (*χλαμύς*) buckled at the shoulder, high riding boots (*κόθορνοι*), and broad-brimmed hat (*πέτασος*). When the procession of knights at the Panathenaic festival is over our friend puts on the ordinary cloak, and struts about the market in his spurs (*μύωπες*, so called because they were little goats, fastened by straps to the heel).

15. The absurdity consists in giving the Maltese toy-dog a grave and inscription, as if he were a man named 'Klados of Malta' (or, as some say, of Meleda, an island off the east coast of the Adriatic). *Κλάδος* is probably the dog's name, though some render a 'sprig.'

16. *δάκτυλον*: something had been wrong with his finger, and when it got well he dedicated a bronze finger in the temple of Asclepius, the god of healing, on the south side of the Acropolis. This was a very ordinary thing to do; but it was not usual to go every day to clean and decorate the model.

18. *ἀμέλει δέ*, 'yes.' *δ. παρὰ τῶν συμ-πρυτάνεων*, 'to get leave from the committee' of Council (*βουλή*), when he happens to be a member for the month. The committee sat in the Council-chamber (*βουλευτήριον*), close to which was the *Μητροῶν*, temple of the mother of the gods (Rhea), where the archives were kept. The *Γαλάξια*, or Milk Feast, was held in honour of this goddess. The announcement of the result of the offerings is made by our hero to the Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*).

### 5. *The Braggart.*

26. The *Διάζευγμα* is unknown: it must have been situated at the Piraeus, and was perhaps a mole connecting two parts of the harbour.

28. He pretends that he conducts a considerable financial business, lending money on mercantile enterprises. A very extensive business of this kind was carried on at Athens. The security for the loan was the ship or cargo or both; and as the risks were considerable the rate of interest was high.

30. *ταῦτα πλεθρίζων*, 'racing along thus,' but it is doubtful if the word is right.

31. He has only a paltry sum in the bank, so that he may boast that he has got a banking account.

32. ἀπολαύσας, 'having had the pleasure of meeting a man on a journey,' he is careful to tell him about the service he has seen under Alexander in Asia, and to say on what terms he was with the great general.

PAGE 51, l. 2. λιθοκόλλητα: vessels of precious metal studded with jewels, taken when the treasure of the Persian king was looted.

6. λέγοντα = κελεύοντα. This refers to the period of Alexander's absence in Asia, when Antipater was viceroy in Macedon. The famine in Greece referred to presently occurred in the years 330-326 B. C.

8. The forests of Macedon afforded much timber for ship-building, especially for oars. The privilege of exporting timber free of duty was sometimes granted to an Athenian.

ἀπείρηται, middle, 'he has declined.' The braggart pretends that he has received letters from Antipater (who was regent in Macedon during the absence of Alexander in Asia) pressing him to come to Macedon, and offering him a privilege to induce him to do so. He declares that he has declined the offer, as he does not want to make enemies. 'The Macedonians,' he adds, 'should be more knowing (περαιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν),' i. e. 'I am not to be caught so easily.' To the people a philosopher seemed a person who hit on sly plans.

14. ποσῶν: calculating how much (πόσον). For calculating the board (ἄβακος) was used, the different divisions in which denoted thousands (with χιλίας supply δραχμάς), hundreds (1 mina = 100 drachmas), tens, ones; in these divisions the necessary counters were placed; compare, for appearance, a draught board. There were many different forms of the *abacus*: sometimes lines were merely drawn in sand and pebbles (ψῆφοι) used for counters, as here. See also p. 49, l. 17.

15. ὀνόματα: of the persons to whom or for whom he pretends to have made the contributions. He works out the whole sum at twenty-four talents. He adds 'I do not reckon (τίθημι) the cost of fitting out ships and other duties to the state.'

19. The different parts of the bazaar were called by the name of the article dealt in there, as still in the East; so here οἱ ἵπποι, αἱ κλῖναι. The valuable horses are in a separate part of the market.

20. ὀνητιᾶν: the *desiderative* ('wish to') of ὠνεῖσθαι. The furniture dealers kept also costly stuffs. He pretends to be looking for these for his clothes.

22. Athens had only silver money. The braggart pretends to carry gold money of Alexander's currency.

## 6. The Coward.

27. ἡμιολία: a vessel, of which only half the length has two

banks of oars, was a light ship used often by pirates: hence his alarm. *μύσται*, those initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, looked forward to happiness in the life hereafter: he supposes every one on board is going to be drowned.

29. The pilot looks at the sky (*ἀνακύπτειν* is the proper word in this sense) to observe the stars.

*μεσο-πορεῖν*, διὰ μέσης τῆς θαλάσσης πορεύεσθαι, in the open sea. Generally one kept near the coast (*παραπλεῖν*). τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ means the weather, for *θεός* or *Ζεὺς* was constantly named, or implied, in that connexion.

PAGE 52, l. 2. He serves with the infantry, which was divided into *τάξεις* according to *φυλαί*, so that the members of a parish were together. An engagement generally began with the cavalry and the *ψιλοί*: here it is in progress: the infantry is to advance to the support of the troops already engaged. They can see the *mêlée*; but the coward at least says he cannot distinguish the enemy, and calls on his comrades to gather round him (!) and wait a minute. In the end he succeeds in keeping out of the fighting altogether.

13. *περι-σπογγίζειν*, wash the wounds with a sponge (*σπογγιά*).

16. τὸ πολεμικόν, 'the attack.' 18. ὕπνου, partitive.

### 7. *The Avaricious Man.*

27. *διανέμειν μερίδας* refers to the distribution of meat at public sacrifices (*carne dare*) for the *ἐστίασις*: see the first note on 'Pericles.'

28. *δί-μοιρον*, διπλῇ μοίρᾳ.

29. *οἶνο-πωλῶν*, 'if he keep a wine shop.' You would expect him to give his friend a drink.

30. The theatre was leased from the state: the lessees (*θεατρ-ώνης*: *πωλεῖν* and *ωνεῖσθαι* are used of leases from the state) took the entrance money and had to keep the theatre in repair. We see from this passage that sometimes they 'gave a free performance,' *ἀφιέναι* (τὴν θέαν) *προίκα*.

32. *ἀποδημῶν*: on an embassy.

PAGE 53, l. 3. The common confusion between the forms *ἐλάττονα τῶν ἄλλων* and *ἐλάχιστα πάντων*.

4. *ξένια*, paid in kind, were supplied to all state envoys, even when they stayed during their mission with the consul (*πρόξενος*) of their state.

5. Bathers took their oil with them to the bath. Our friend goes without any, scolds his slave for having bought rancid oil, and then begs some from another bather. *εἴπας* = *εἰπών*.

8. *κοινός Ἑρμῆς* was a proverb: a find is to be shared by all, *Hermes* being god of luck.

9. His own cloak being out at wash, he borrows a neighbour's,

keeps it a long time and isn't careful of it, for he 'lets the end trail on the ground.'

11. Φειδωνείω: there were two standards of weights and measures at Athens, the larger being used in petty transactions. The smaller was erroneously called Φειδώνειον after Pheidon of Argos who had introduced the *larger* standard into the Peloponnese. The cause of the mistake was the similarity of the word φείδεσθαι, 'to spare.' In measuring out the daily allowance of flour to his servants (οἱ ἔνδον) for their bread the niggard wrongly uses the smaller measure, and that after knocking the bottom (πύνδαξ) inwards: then he wipes off a lot from the top.

13. ὑπο-πρίσθαι, 'to buy secretly' (*on the quiet*), when a friend of his decides on buying something that suits him (πρὸς τρόπου), and then to sell it to some one else.

15. ἀμέλει, adverb. Without any justification he deducts a rebate or discount (*takes off four shillings*).

18. κατὰ λόγον, 'in proportion,' for the days of absence. The school fees were usually paid monthly. In the month Anthesterion occurred the festival of the Anthesteria and the lesser Eleusinian festival which was celebrated at Athens. These two together would last only five days. Possibly other celebrations occurred of which we do not know.

21. Slaves who were craftsmen were allowed to live away and work for themselves in return for a fixed payment to the owner. The slave brings his monthly payment in small money, and the mean master deducts from the sum and requires in addition the discount (ἐπικαταλλαγή, *agio*) that he has to pay to the banker to change the copper into silver. The slave who manages the household accounts is similarly treated: the master gave him silver, but *he* paid the tradesmen (κάπηλοι) in copper. Hence the slave has to account for the ἐπικαταλλαγή, and re-fund it.

23. The old φαρμακίαι, brotherhoods, had now no political importance; and occasional re-unions (ἔβαντοι), for which each household contributed part of the eatables, were almost the only object for which they were kept up. At such a picnic he expects to have food from the common supply for the meal of his slaves who are waiting. To us this would seem reasonable, and very different from having the bits of radishes counted when the meal was over.

28. ἔξω: to another household. He would get the slave's hire, and this he should at the least pay into the common fund for the travelling expenses of himself and his acquaintances as an equivalent for the service he has been receiving.

29. συναγόντων: the object implied is ἔβαντον, 'when they are holding a picnic.'

30. ὑπο-θεῖναι: enter below the items that one properly puts

(τίθησι) in the account. The account was for the money spent by each member on things purchased for the dinner. He sets below sums for what good form required to be provided gratis. The article for which the money is paid stands generally in genitive; there are many examples in inscriptions and papyri.

33. For πρὸ see n. on p. 30, l. 15. προσφοράν, 'a wedding present.'

## II

### THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

PAGE 54, l. 3. For τό the later prose idiom would be ὥστε.

5. The messenger had said στρατὸς πᾶς ὅλῳλε βαρβάρων: he had thus 'unfolded the disaster as a whole'; and now he is to give the details.

6. καταστάς (τῇ γνώμῃ) amounts to 'calmly.' ὅμως goes into the concessive clause: similarly it is often put after a concessive participle.

8. ὅσπε, Homeric form = ὅς.

9. The τάξις became ἄνδρος as the result of his leaving it.

10. He understands what the mother would naturally want to know first.

12. In μελάγχμιος the connexion with χειμών is traceable.

13. The names, origin, and rank of the Persian chiefs are of course invented by Aeschylus.

14. Σιληνίαι (πέτραι) on the coast of Salamis, just where the battle was fought.

PAGE 55, l. 1. ἰθαγενής, 'noble.'

2. Whenever the sea beats on the shore, the body strikes (σποδεῖ) it. Ajax was the 'hero' of Salamis.

3. *i. e.* καὶ Ἀργήστῃς.

4. Which of the islets about Salamis was named after the wood-pigeon we do not know. To Athenians the allusion was as clear as 'the isle of Aias.'

5. κυρίσσειν is properly 'to butt.' The Persians, having gone overboard in the battle, were driven violently on shore by the breakers, and 'struck' it with their heads. The augment is omitted, as not unfrequently in lively narrative in drama.

6. πηγαί, 'waters.'

9. The place Chrysa is an invention; gold came from the East. A line is lost, in which the fate of Matallus and the name of the cavalry ἡγεμών were given.

10. The horses, not the riders, were black.—The Persians are frequently represented in art with long and unshaven beards.

11. ξα-πληθῇ of the size, 'long': δά-σκιον of the growth, 'thick.' δα- and ξα- are Aeolic forms of the same preposition, the intensive διὰ.



12. βαφῇ ἀμείβων, 'changing by the blood that dyed it,' for 'staining with blood.'

14. By his death he received a stranger's place in a strange land.

21. Syennesis was the real name of the Cilician princes.

22. ἀπαρχος = ἀρχός.

28. Lamentation, she means, would naturally follow such a story, yet tell me, etc.

29. The question would in strict grammar be without δέ, being the explanation of τοῦτο, but is made independent.

32. πλήθους ἕκαστι, 'as far as numbers go,' i.e. if numbers gave a victory. βάρβαρον, collective.

PAGE 56, l. 2. Herodotus reckons 378 ships for the Greeks, whereas he agrees with the number given for the Persians. Aeschylus makes the messenger emphasize the fact that he *knew* how many the Persians had; so doubtless he intentionally gave the number of the Greeks inexactly.

5. ὑπέκοπος, 'that excelled.'

6. λόγος, 'proportion.'

7. τῇδε is an adverb, and does not belong to μάχη.

8. δαίμων τις says in the language of the old religion, which makes every power into a person, what we should express somehow thus: 'we were not inferior in numbers, so something unknown, incomprehensible, must have interfered.' Then comes a pause, marked by the absence of a connecting particle at l. 10, and then the climax, 'God is for Athens.'

11. The queen means by πόλις the city, which was in fact destroyed; the messenger means the state. Aeschylus thus makes his opportunity for l. 12, which echoes a verse of Alcaeus that became proverbial: ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος (= πόλεως) πύργος ἀρείοι (= ἀρήιοι).

17. ἀλάστωρ is properly an unappeased, and therefore a harmful spirit: hence, expressed impersonally, the retribution for guilt unexpiated.

18. Themistocles, who sent his servant Sicinnus with the message.

23. ἐκώσσοιντο. Similarly in l. 32.

25. φθόνος, 'spite, ill-will.'

28. τέμενος, 'domain,' sacred because αἰθήρ is reckoned 'holy,' as was anything that was superhuman and marvellous.

29. The Persian main body (στρίφος) lay in front of the bay of Salamis; the Greek fleet was anchored within it, off the town of Salamis. Even if the Greeks wanted to move to Eleusis, the Persian right wing was bound to notice them. The object of the ships stationed all round the island was to intercept Greek ships trying to escape singly.

PAGE 57, l. 2. κάρτα qualifies εὐθύμουν.

6. The oar was fastened to the pin (σκαλμός) with a strap which acted as a rowlock.

8. κώπης ἀναξ: poetical for ἐρέτης; so ὄπλων ἐπιστάτης (l. 9) for ὀπλίτης.

10. The τάξεις of a trireme are the rowers in their three ranks, θρανῖται, ζυγῖται, θαλάμιοι.

13. The ναῶν ἀνακτες (i.e. κυβερνήται) so disposed the fleet that it moved between the island and the mainland; so διὰ πλοον κ. = 'caused them to row in the channel.'

14. οὐ μάλα, 'in no wise.'

22. The Persians heard a sound: they expected the confused noise of desperate flight; they heard instead the tones of the battle chant.

25. Poetical language uses verbs that denote 'shine' and 'burn' of sounds: ἐπιφλέγειν means here what we express by 'drown' of noises.

26. The κελευστής begins to give the time with his pipe. ροθιάς is 'splashing.' It was impossible for the rowers in a trireme to avoid rowing deep; hence βρύχιος.

29. Sailing from the narrow bay of Salamis, the Greek fleet would form line on the left as soon as it had room. The column filed out of the bay with the right leading.

31. ὁμοῦ, 'near,' an Ionic use. So near were they that the exhortations of the officers (λόγοι παραινετικοί) could be heard by the enemy.

PAGE 58, l. 3. The Persians talked and made a noise: the messenger had been impressed with the contrast of the Greek discipline.

5. στόλος = ἔμβολον, l. 12. Herodotus gives the name of the first to engage the enemy—the Athenian Ameinias.

8. κόρυμβα are the sculptured ornaments that crowned the bows and stern, decorations. δόρυ, 'ship.'

11. ἀλλήλοις depends on ἀρωγή.

13. The apodosis begins at ἔθρανον. The ships struck each other with their rams, and were driven so close that they broke each others projecting banks of oars (κωπήρη στόλον).

17. The barren sea blossomed like a meadow; only the blades of grass were fragments of ships, and the red of the anemones was blood.

21. τοῖ, Ionic for οἱ. Catching the fish that migrate annually in vast numbers from the Black Sea to the Archipelago is a favourite and common sport. The largest tunny fish are harpooned, the rest are netted (βόλος is the contents of a casting net draught) and killed with sticks on the beach.

22. See θραῦσμα.

23. The Greeks were cheering while the Persians bewailed;

but the mourning of myriads drowned the cheers of the lesser number.

25. ἡ νύξ or τὸ σκότος ἀφείλετο without expressed object is a standing phrase. Thucyd. iv. 139 adds the object τὸ ἔργον.

27. στοιχηγορεῖν, to tell in one στοιῖχος, πάντα ἐξῆς.

32. The repetition of the words used in l. 28 renders the resumption of the narrative specially impressive.

PAGE 59, l. 4. κακῶν ἐς τὰ μᾶσσονα, 'to greater misery.'

5. φύσις, 'form'; ψυχή, 'spirit, courage.'

Think of the construction πρῶτος τὴν πίστιν.

11. Psyttaleia lies where the strait that divides Salamis from the mainland opens to the sea. It is all rocks: only the hoof of Pan dances there; from a similar idea the rocks in Salamis are named after the Sileni (P. 54, l. 14).

20. φάρξας, aor. partic. φράσσω. For the attack on the Persians who had been landed on Psyttaleia the few ἐπιβάται of the ships were insufficient. Hence a force of hoplites and archers from Salamis was conveyed across. We know from Herodotus that Aristides commanded this landing force.

26. ῥόθος: here 'attack, charge.'

27. κρεοκοπεῖν, 'cut to pieces,' like butchers cutting meat.

30. See εὐαγής.

PAGE 60, l. 1. ἵσι, 'speeds away.'

3. φρενῶν = βουλῆς, ἐλπίδος.

4. πικράν: to himself.

7. πράσσειν: technical word for exaction of a fine or tax. πράκτορες, at Athens, were bailiffs.

### III

#### THEORY OF VACUUM

PAGE 61, l. 1. ἡ πνευματικὴ πραγματεία, 'the study of atmospheric pressure.' σπουδῆς depends on ἡξιωμένης.

3. λογικῶς, 'by reasoning,' theoretically, contrasted with ἡ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐνέργεια (*lit.* the action of things observed) 'the experimental method.' ἀποδίδωμι here means 'explain.'

8. Mathematics in a wide sense, including Mechanics.

10. διαλαμβάνειν, 'decide.' τὸ καθόλου, adverbial.

12. παρα-σπείρεσθαι is used of division into minute particles which lie scattered throughout a body.

PAGE 62, l. 2. τὰ ἐξῆς, 'what follows.'

6. μικρο-μερής, consisting of μικρὰ μέρη of the element.

7. γοῦν, 'for instance.'

15. παρ-εισ-έρχεσθαι, 'to intrude.'

31. αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν, 'by itself,' 'separately.'

PAGE 63, l. 1. συνερείδει, 'adhere'; so προσερείδω (l. 16), 'press against.'

4. ἀπ-οικειοῦσθαι, properly 'be akin to,' but here used in the sense of ἀφομοιοῦσθαι. II. εὐτονία, 'elasticity.'

18. σὺν-στομος, having a narrow στόμα.

23. ὥα, little medicine glasses.

28. καίτοι with partic. for the earlier καίπερ.

31. ἐκποιεῖ, 'it is possible.' ἐπιχείρημα, 'argument.'

33. αἰσθητικός, through the senses.

PAGE 64, l. 4. κατὰ πίλησιν, by compression, 'on being compressed.' 5. παρέκδυσις, 'escape.'

6. τῶν λόγων, partitive. The point is that Aristotle's denial of vacuum (see introduction) appears to be cogent, but is not really so.

7. ἔλασμα, beaten metal: πάχος . . . ὥστε μή, 'thick enough not to.' 8. εὐθλαστος, 'easily broken' (θλάω).

10. σίφων is here explained to mean a little tube (σωλήν). The object of τρυπήσαντα is τὴν σφαῖραν.

11. τοῦ τετρυπημένου σημείου depends on κατὰ διάμετρον, which means 'diametrically opposite.'

12. διάρρυσις, 'passage.'

14. περιοχή, 'edge.'

15. στεγνοῦν, to make στεγνόν. The addition of κασσιτέρῳ shows that the meaning is 'to solder.'

προσλαμβάνειν, 'fasten.'

19. δι-εκ-πίπτειν, 'escape from,' through the hole.

23. προσ-ερείδειν, 'to press against,' is here transitive. κατὰ συνέχειαν, continuously, i.e. without any vacuum between the particles of air. The participles are conditional.

26. εἰσκρίνειν, 'to insert, get in.' The noun of this is εἰσκρισις. Below πρόν, compounded with the verb, means 'in addition.'

PAGE 65, l. 1. συστολή, 'contraction, compression.' The opposite is διαστολή (l. 10).

2. παρεμπλέκεται κενά means the same as παρασπείρεται.

5. ἐπιπωμάζειν, 'to cover,' from πῶμα, 'a lid.' The opposite is ἀναπωμάζειν (l. 7).

6. συνεσφιγμένος, συσφίγγω.

19. συνίξις, noun of συνιζάνω.

27. λεπτο-μερής = μικρομερής.

29. καταχρηστικῶς, 'by a misuse of words'; it is true (a) that a continuous void does not occur κατὰ φύσιν; (b) that the minute spaces of void, though they exist, cannot be at once perceived by the senses; hence *speaking loosely* we may say that 'there is no vacuum.'

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